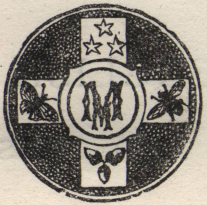
ENGLISH,

PAST AND PRESENT.



ENGLISH,

PAST AND PRESENT.

EIGHT LECTURES.

BY

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'Who cannot dress it well want wit, not words.'

GEORGE HERBERT.

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PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

A BRIEF series of lectures, four in all, which I delivered last spring to the pupils of King's College School, London, supplied the foundation to this present volume. These lectures, which I was obliged to prepare in haste, on a brief invitation, and under the pressure of other engagements, being subsequently enlarged and recast, were delivered in the autumn somewhat more nearly in their present shape to the pupils of the Training School, Winchester; with only those alterations, omissions and additions, which the difference in my hearers suggested as necessary or desirable. I have found it convenient to keep the lectures, as regards the persons presumed to be addressed, in that earlier form which I had sketched out at the first; and, inasmuch as it helps much to keep lectures vivid and real that

one should have some well-defined audience, if not actually before one, yet before the mind's eye, to suppose myself throughout addressing my first hearers. I have supposed myself, that is, addressing a body of young Englishmen, all with a fair amount of classical knowledge (in my explanations I have sometimes had others with less than theirs in my eye), not wholly unacquainted with modern languages ; but not yet with any special designation as to their future work ; having only as yet marked out to them the duty in general of living lives worthy of those who have England for their native country, and English for their native tongue. To lead such through a more intimate knowledge of this into a greater love of that, has been a principal aim which I have set before myself throughout.

ITCHENSTOKE: *Feb.* 7, 1855.

CONTENTS.

LECTURE I.

PAGE

THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY 1

LECTURE II.

ENGLISH AS IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN 46

LECTURE III.

GAINS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE 91

LECTURE IV.

GAINS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE—*continued* . . 141

LECTURE V.

DIMINUTIONS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE . . 189

LECTURE VI.

DIMINUTIONS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE—*continued* 248

LECTURE VII.

CHANGES IN THE MEANING OF ENGLISH WORDS . 292

LECTURE VIII.

PAGE

CHANGES IN THE SPELLING OF ENGLISH WORDS . 326

INDEX OF SUBJECTS 373

INDEX OF WORDS AND PHRASES 379

ENGLISH

PAST AND PRESENT.

LECTURE I.

THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY.

'A VERY slight acquaintance with the history of our own language will teach us that the speech of Chaucer's age is not the speech of Skelton's, that there is a great difference between the language under Elizabeth and that under Charles the First, between that under Charles the First and Charles the Second, between that under Charles the Second and Queen Anne; that considerable changes had taken place between the beginning and the middle of the last century, and that Johnson and Fielding did not write altogether as we do now. For in the course of a nation's progress new ideas are evermore mounting above the horizon, while others are lost sight of and sink below it: others again change their form and aspect: others which seemed united, split into parts. And as it is with ideas, so it is with their symbols, words. New ones are perpetually coined to meet the demand of an advanced understanding, of new feelings that have sprung out of the decay of old ones, of ideas

that have shot forth from the summit of the tree of our knowledge ; old words meanwhile fall into disuse and become obsolete ; others have their meaning narrowed and defined ; synonyms diverge from each other and their property is parted between them ; nay, whole classes of words will now and then be thrown overboard, as new feelings or perceptions of analogy gain ground. A history of the language in which all these vicissitudes should be pointed out, in which the introduction of every new word should be noted, so far as it is possible—and much may be done in this way by laborious and diligent and judicious research —in which such words as have become obsolete should be followed down to their final extinction, in which all the most remarkable words should be traced through their successive phases of meaning, and in which moreover the causes and occasions of these changes should be explained, such a work would not only abound in entertainment, but would throw more light on the development of the human mind than all the brainspun systems of metaphysics that ever were written.'

These words are not my own, but the words of a greatly honoured friend and teacher, who, though we behold him now no more, still teaches, and will teach, by the wisdom of his writings, and the remembered nobleness of his life. They are words of Archdeacon Hare. I have put them in the forefront of my lectures ; anticipating as they do, in the way of masterly sketch, all or nearly all which I shall attempt to accomplish ; and indeed drawing out the lines of very much more, to which I shall not venture to put

my hand. At the same time the subject is one which, even with partial and imperfect handling, will, I trust, find an answer and an echo in the hearts of all whom I address ; which every Englishman will feel of near concern and interest to himself. For, indeed, the love of our native language, what is it, in fact, but the love of our native land expressing itself in one particular direction ? If the noble acts of that nation to which we belong are precious to us, if we feel ourselves made greater by the greatness, summoned to a nobler life by the nobleness of Englishmen, who have already lived and died, and have bequeathed to us a name which must not by us be made less, what exploits of theirs can well be worthier, what can more clearly point out their native land and ours as having fulfilled a glorious past, as being destined for a glorious future, than that they should have acquired for themselves and for us a clear, a strong, an harmonious, a noble language ? For all this bears witness to corresponding merits in those that speak it, to clearness of mental vision, to strength, to harmony, to nobleness in them who have gradually shaped and fashioned it to be the utterance of their inmost life and being.

To know concerning this language, the stages which it has gone through, the sources from which its riches have been derived, the gains which it has made or is now making, the perils which are threatening it, the losses which it has sustained, the capabilities which may be yet latent in it, waiting to be evoked, the points in which it transcends other tongues, the points in which it comes short of them, all this may well be the object of worthy ambition to every one of us. So may we hope to be ourselves guardians of its purity, and

not corruptors of it; to introduce, it may be, others into an intelligent knowledge of that, with which we shall have ourselves more than a merely superficial acquaintance; to bequeath it to those who come after us not worse than we received it ourselves. 'Spartam nactus es; hanc exorna,'—this should be our motto in respect alike of our country, and of the speech of our country.

Nor is a study such as this alien or remote from the purposes which have brought us hither. It is true that within these walls we are mainly occupied in learning other tongues than our own. The time we bestow upon it is small as compared with that bestowed upon those others. And yet one of our main objects in learning them is that we may better understand this. Nor ought any other to dispute with it the first and foremost place in our reverence, our gratitude, and our love. It has been well and worthily said by an illustrious German scholar, 'The care of the national language I consider as at all times a sacred trust and a most important privilege of the higher orders of society. Every man of education should make it the object of his unceasing concern, to preserve his language pure and entire, to speak it, so far as is in his power, in all its beauty and perfection. . . . . A nation whose language becomes rude and barbarous, must be on the brink of barbarism in regard to everything else. A nation which allows her language to go to ruin, is parting with the best half of her intellectual independence, and testifies her willingness to cease to exist.'[1]

[1] F. Schlegel, *History of Literature*, Lecture 10. Compare what Milton has said on this matter: Verba enim partim inscita

But this knowledge, like all other knowledge which is worth attaining, is only to be attained at the price of labour and pains. The language which at this day we employ is the result of processes which have been going forward for hundreds and for thousands of years. Nay more,—it is not too much to affirm that processes modifying the English which we now write and speak, have been operating from the first day that man, being gifted with discourse of reason, projected his thought from himself, and embodied and contemplated it in his word. Which things being so, if we would understand this language as it now is, we must know something of it as it has been; we must be able to measure, however roughly, the forces which have been at work upon it, moulding and shaping it into the forms, and bringing it into the conditions under which it now exists.

At the same time various prudential considerations must determine for us how far up we will endeavour to trace the course of its history. There are those who may seek to trace our language to the forests of Germany and Scandinavia, to investigate its relation to all the kindred dialects that were there spoken; again, to follow it up, till it and they are seen descending from an elder stock; nor once to pause, till they have assigned to it its proper place not merely in that smaller group of languages which are immediately round it, but in respect of all the tongues and

et putida, partim mendosa et perperam prolata, quid si ignavos et oscitantes, et ad servile quidvis jam olim paratos incolarum animos haud levi indicio declarant? I have elsewhere quoted this remarkable passage at full (*Study of Words*, 17th edit. p. 105).

languages of the earth. I can imagine few studies of a more surpassing interest than this. Others, however, must be content with seeking such insight into their native language as may be within the reach of all who, unable to make this the subject of especial research, possessing neither that vast compass of knowledge, nor that immense apparatus of books, not being at liberty to yield to it that devotion almost of a life which, followed out to the full, it would require, have yet an intelligent interest in their mother tongue, and desire to learn as much of its growth and history and construction as may be fairly within their reach. To such I shall suppose myself to be speaking. I assume no higher ground than this for myself.

I know, indeed, that some, when invited at all to enter upon the past history of the English language, are inclined to answer—'To what end such studies to us? Why cannot we leave them to a few antiquaries and grammarians? Sufficient to us to know the laws of our present English, to obtain an acquaintance as accurate as we can with the language as we now find it, without concerning ourselves with the phases through which it has previously passed.' This may sound plausible enough; and I can quite understand a real lover of his native tongue, who has not bestowed much thought upon the subject, taking up such a position as this. And yet it is one which cannot be maintained. A sufficient reason why we should occupy ourselves with the past of our language is, that the present is only intelligible in the light of the past, often of a very remote past indeed. There are in it anomalies out of number, which the pure logic of grammar is quite incapable of explaining; which

nothing but an acquaintance with its historic evolutions, and with the disturbing forces which have made themselves felt therein, will ever enable us to understand; not to say that, unless we possess some such knowledge of the past, we cannot ourselves advance a single step in the unfolding of the latent capabilities of the language, without the danger of doing some outrage to its genius, of committing some barbarous violation of its very primary laws.[1]

The scheme which I have proposed to myself in these lectures is as follows. In this my first I shall invite you to consider the language as now it is, to decompose some specimens of it, and in this way to make proof, of what elements it is compact, and what functions in it these elements severally fulfil. Nor shall I leave this subject without asking you to admire the happy marriage in our tongue of the languages of the North and South, a marriage giving to it advantages which no other of the languages of Europe enjoys. Having thus before us the body which we wish to submit to scrutiny, and having become acquainted, however slightly, with its composition, I shall invite you in my next to consider with me what this actual language might have been, if that event, which more than all other put together has affected and modified the English language, namely the Norman

[1] Littré (*Hist. de la Langue Française*, vol. ii. p. 485) : Une langue ne peut être conservée dans sa pureté qu'autant qu'elle est étudiée dans son histoire, ramenée à ses sources, appuyée à ses traditions. Aussi l'étude de la vieille langue est un élément nécessaire, lequel venant à faire défaut, la connaissance du langage moderne est sans profondeur, et le bon usage sans racines. Compare Pellissier, *La Langue Française*, p. 259.

Conquest, had never found place. In the lectures which follow I shall seek to institute from various points of view a comparison between the present language and the past, to point out gains which it has made, losses which it has endured, and generally to call your attention to some of the more important changes through which it has passed, or is at this present passing.

I shall, indeed, everywhere solicit your attention not merely to the changes which have been in time past effected, but to those also which at this very moment are going forward. I shall not account the fact that some are proceeding, so to speak, under our own eyes, a sufficient ground to excuse me from noticing them, but rather an additional reason for so doing. For indeed these changes which we are ourselves helping to bring about, are the very ones which we are most likely to fail in observing. So many causes contribute to withdraw them from notice, to veil their operation, to conceal their significance, that, save by a very few, they will commonly pass wholly unobserved. Loud and sudden revolutions attract and even compel observation ; but revolutions silent and gradual, although with issues far vaster in store, run their course, and it is only when their cycle is nearly or quite completed, that men perceive what mighty transforming forces have been at work unnoticed in their very midst.

Thus, in this matter of language, how few aged persons, even among those who retain the fullest possession of their faculties, are conscious of any serious difference between the spoken language of their early youth, and that of their old age ; are aware that words

and ways of using words are obsolete now, which were usual then; that many words are current now, which had no existence at that time; that new idioms have sprung up, that old idioms have past away. And yet it is certain that so it must be. A man may fairly be assumed to remember clearly and well for sixty years back; and it needs less than five of these sixties to bring us to the age of Spenser, and not more than eight to set us in the time of Chaucer and Wiclif. No one, contemplating this whole term, will deny the greatness of the changes which within these eight memories have been wrought. And yet, for all this, we may be tolerably sure that, had it been possible to interrogate a series of eight persons, such as together had filled up this time, intelligent men, but men whose attention had not been especially awakened to this subject, each in his turn would have denied that there had been any change worth speaking of, perhaps any change at all, during his lifetime. It is not the less certain, considering the multitude of words which have fallen into oblivion during these four or five hundred years, that there must have been some lives in this chain which saw those words in use at their commencement, and out of use before their close. And so, too, of the multitude of words which have sprung up in this period, some, nay, a vast number, must have come into being within the limits of each of these lives.[1] There are indeed times when from one cause

[1] See on this subject the deeply interesting chapter, the 23rd, in Sir C. Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, with the title, *Origin and Development of Languages and Species compared.* I quote a few words: 'Every one may have noticed in his own lifetime the stealing in of some slight alterations of accent, pronuncia-

or another the change is so rapid as to force itself on the attention of thoughtful men, above all of men whose training or occupation fits and predisposes them for the observing of this. But there are few to whom this is brought so distinctly home as it was to Caxton, who writes, 'our language now used varieth far from that which was used and spoken when I was born.'

Nor is it hard on a little reflection to perceive how this going and coming of words have alike been hid from the eyes of almost all. In the nature of things, words which go excite little or no notice in their going. They drop out of use little by little, no one noticing the fact. The student, indeed, of a past epoch of our literature finds words to have been freely used in it which are not employed in his own ; and these, when

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tion, or spelling, or the introduction of some words borrowed from a foreign language to express ideas of which no native term precisely conveyed the import. He may also remember hearing for the first time some cant terms or slang phrases, which have since forced their way into common use, in spite of the efforts of the purists. But he may still contend that "within the range of his experience" his language has continued unchanged, and he may believe in its immutability in spite of minor variations. The real question, however, at issue is, whether there are any limits to this variability. He will find, on further investigation, that new technical terms are coined almost daily, in various arts, sciences, professions, and trades, that new names must be found for new inventions ; that many of these require a metaphorical sense, and then make their way into general circulation, as "stereotyped" for instance, which would have been as meaningless to the men of the seventeenth century as would the new terms and images derived from steamboat and railway travelling to the men of the eighteenth.'

all brought into a vocabulary, an innumerable company, the dead in some departments of the language almost or quite as many as the living. But it was only one by one that they fell out of sight, and this by steps the most gradual; being at first more rarely used, then only by those who affected a somewhat archaic style, and lastly not used at all. And as with the outgoers, so in a measure also is it with the incomers. The newness and strangeness of them, even where there is knowledge and observation sufficient to recognize them as novelties at all, wears off very much sooner than would be supposed. They are but of yesterday; and already men employ them as though they had existed as long as the language itself. Nor is it words only which thus steal out of the language or steal into it, unobserved in their coming and their going. It is the same with numbers, tenses, and moods, with old laws of the language which gradually lose their authority, with new usages which gradually acquire the force of laws. Thus it would be curious to know how many have noticed the fact that the sign of the subjunctive mood is at this very moment perishing in English. One who now says, 'If he *call*, tell him I am out'—many do say it still, but they grow fewer every day—is seeking to detain a mood, or rather the sign of a mood, which the language is determined to get rid of. The English-speaking race has come to the conclusion that clearness does not require the maintenance of any distinction between the indicative and subjunctive moods, and has therefore resolved not to be at the trouble of maintaining it any more. But the dropping of the subjunctive, important change as it is, goes on for the most part

unmarked even by those who are themselves effecting the change. On this matter, however, I shall have by and by something more to say.

With these preliminary remarks I address myself to our special subject of to-day. And first, starting from the recognized fact that the English is not a simple but a composite language, made up of several elements, so far at least as its vocabulary is concerned, just as are the people who speak it, I would suggest to you the profit to be derived from a resolving of it into its component parts—from taking, that is, some passage of English, distributing the words of which it is made up according to the sources whence they are drawn ; estimating the relative numbers and proportion which these languages have severally contributed to it ; as well as the character of the words which they have thrown into the common stock. Thus, suppose the English language to be divided into a hundred parts ; of these, to make a rough distribution, forty-five might be Anglo-Saxon, or Old English, as now some prefer to call them ; forty-five Latin (including of course the Latin which has come to us through the French); five perhaps would be Greek. We should in this way have allotted ninety-five parts, leaving the other five to be divided among all the other languages which have made their several smaller contributions to the vocabulary of our English tongue. It is probable that, all counted, they would not amount to this five in the hundred. They certainly would not, unless we included in this list words which we owe to languages closely allied to the Anglo-Saxon, but which are not found in our Old

English vocabulary. I refer to those, Scandinavian will be their most convenient designation, for which we are mainly indebted to the Danish settlements in the north of England.

Let me speak first of these. It would be idle to attempt an exhaustive enumeration of them ; but a small selection will show of how serviceable a character they are, and what an important share of our every-day working English they form. Thus take these nouns, 'bag,' 'bilge,' 'bole,' 'booty,' 'brag,' 'brink,' 'bull,' 'cake,' 'crew,' 'cripple,' 'dairy,' 'earl,' 'elk,' 'fell,' 'fellow,' 'fool,' 'froth,' 'gable,' 'gill,' 'gin,' 'hustings,' 'keg,' 'kid,' 'leg,' 'levin,' 'muck,' 'odds,' 'puck,' 'rump,' 'root,' 'sark,' 'scald,' 'screw,' 'skill,' 'skull,' 'sky,' 'sleight,' 'tarn,' 'thrum,' 'tyke,' 'windlass,' 'window ;' or, again, these verbs, 'to bask,' 'to clip,' 'to cuff,' 'to curl,' 'to daze,' 'to droop,' 'to dub,' 'to flaunt,' 'to flit,' 'to glint,' 'to grovel,' 'to hale,' 'to hug,' 'to lurk,' 'to mumble,' 'to ransack,' 'to scrub,' 'to skulk,' 'to sprout,' 'to thrive,' 'to thrust.'[1]

Then too there are Dutch words not a few, especially sea-terms, which have found their way into English, as 'ahoy,' 'avast,' 'block,' 'blunderbuss,' 'boom,' 'boor,' 'caboose,' 'dogger,' 'fop,' 'golf,' 'hoy,' 'interloper,' 'landscape,' 'lubber,' 'orlop' or 'overlop,' 'schooner,' 'skates,' 'skipper,' 'sloop,' 'smack,' 'stiver,' 'tafferel,' 'toy,' 'yacht,' 'to elope,' 'to loiter,' 'to luff,' 'to ruffle,' 'to smuggle.'

But to look now farther abroad. We have a certain

[1] For more of these Scandinavian words, see Morris, *English Accidence*, p. 255.

number of Hebrew words, most, but not all, referring to religious matters, as 'amen,' 'bdellium,' 'behemoth,' 'cabala,' 'cherub,' 'cinnamon,' 'ephod,' 'gehenna,' 'hallelujah,' 'hosanna,' 'jubilee,' 'leviathan,' 'manna,' 'Messiah,' 'Pharisee,' 'rabbi,' 'sabaoth,' 'sabbath,' 'Sadducee,' 'Satan,' 'seraph,' 'shibboleth,' 'talmud,' 'targum.' A few more, mostly having to do with Jewish weights and measures, are in our Version of Scripture, and have scarcely past beyond it, as 'bath,' 'ephah,' 'hin,' 'omer.'

Our Arabic words are more numerous; of arithmetical and astronomical terms we have several, as 'aldebaran,' 'algebra,' 'algorithm,' or more popularly 'augrim' (now obsolete), 'almanach,' 'azimuth,' 'cypher,'[1] 'nadir,' 'talisman,' 'zenith,' 'zero;' of chemical no less; for the Arabs were the chemists, no less than the astronomers and arithmeticians of the Middle Ages; as 'alcohol,' 'alembic,'[2] 'alkali,' 'elixir.' Add to these the names of animals, plants, fruits, or articles of merchandize first introduced by them to the notice of Western Europe; as 'amber,' 'antimonium,' 'apricot,'[3] 'arrack,' 'artichoke,' 'attar,' (less correctly spelt 'otto'), 'barberry,' 'barragan,' 'borax,' 'bournous,' 'camphor,' 'candy,' 'caraway,' 'carmine,' 'carol,' 'cimarre,' 'civet,' 'coffee,' 'cotton,' 'crimson,' 'endive,' 'felucca,' 'gazelle,' 'giraffe,' 'henna,' 'hookah,' 'jar,' 'jasmine,' 'jasper,' 'jennet,'

[1] But see J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 985.

[2] See Archdeacon Hare, *Fragments of two Essays on English Philology*, pt. ii. p. 43.

[3] See Mahn, *Etymol. Untersuch.* p. 49; 'Abricot' in Littré's *Dictionary*; and 'Apricot' in Skeat's *Etymol. Dictionary.*

'jerboa,' 'julep,' 'kermes,' 'lake' (lacca), 'laudanum,' 'lemon,' 'lime,' 'lute,' 'mattress,' 'mocha,' 'mummy,' 'musk,' 'muslin,' 'naphtha,' 'ottoman,' 'popinjay,' 'saffron,' 'senna,' 'sequin,' 'sherbet,' 'shrub,' 'sirup,' 'sofa,' 'sugar,' 'sumach,' 'talc,' 'tamarind;' and some further terms, 'admiral,' 'alcove,'[1] 'alguazil,' 'Allah,' 'amulet,' 'arsenal,' 'assassin,' 'azure,' 'barbican,' 'cadi,' 'caliph,' 'caffre,' 'carat,'[2] 'caravan,' 'chemise,' 'dey,' 'divan,' 'dragoman,'[3] 'emir,' 'fakir,' 'fanfare,' 'felucca,' 'firman,' 'garble,' 'ghoul,' 'hadji,' 'hanger,' 'harem,' 'hazard,' 'hegira,' 'houri,' 'howdah,' 'imaum,' 'Islam,' 'Koran,' 'magazine,' 'mamaluke,' 'marabout,' 'minaret,' 'monsoon,' 'mosque,' 'muezzin,'

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[1] See Mahn, p. 156.

[2] This is the Greek κεράτιον which, having travelled to the East, has in this shape come back to us, just as δηνάριον has returned in the 'dinar' of the *Arabian Nights*.

[3] 'Dragoman' hardly deserves to be called English, yet in Pope's time it had made some progress towards naturalization. Of a real or pretended polyglottist, who might thus have served as an universal *interpreter*, he says:

'Pity you was not *druggerman* at Babel.'

'Truckman,' or more commonly 'truchman,' familiar to all readers of our early literature, is only another form of this, which probably has come to us through 'turcimanno,' an Italian form of the word. Let me here observe that in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, b. i. § 75, there can be no doubt that for 'trustman,' as it is printed in all editions which I have been able to consult, we should read 'truchman.' Prince Charles at the time of his visit to Madrid not speaking Spanish, the king, we are told, summoned the Earl of Bristol into the coach with them 'that he should serve as a *trustman*,'—a word yielding no kind of sense; or rather no word at all, but only the ignorant correction of some scribe or printer, to whom 'truchman' was unknown.

'mufti,' 'mussulman,' 'nabob,' 'nizam,' 'quintal,' 'ramadan,' 'razzia,' 'rebecks,' 'sahara,' 'salaam,' 'scheik,' 'simoom,' 'sirocco,' 'sultan,' 'tarif,' 'tartan,' 'ulema,' 'vizier,' 'wady,' and I believe we shall have nearly completed the list. Many of these have come to us indirectly through one or other of the Romance languages.

Of Persian words we have these: 'backsheesh,' 'bang,' 'bashaw,' 'bazaar,' 'bezoar,' 'bungalow,' 'caravan,' 'caravanserai,' 'check,' 'chess,' 'cinnabar,' 'curry,' 'dervish,' 'durbar,' 'emerald,' 'gherkin,' 'ghoul,' 'gypsum,' 'jackal,' 'jasmin,' 'khan,' 'lacquer,' 'lascar,' 'lilac,' 'mirage,' 'mirza,' 'nectarine,' 'nylghau,' 'orange,' 'pagoda,' 'para,' 'Parsee,' 'Peri,' 'rook' (in chess), 'saraband,' 'sash,' 'scarlet,' 'sepoy,' 'shagreen,' 'shawl,' 'sirdar,' 'taffeta,' 'tambour,' 'turban;' this last appearing in strange forms, 'tolibant' (Puttenham), 'tulipant' (Herbert's *Travels*), 'turribant' (Spenser), 'turbat,' 'turbant,' and at length 'turban;' 'zemindar,' 'zenana.' We have also some Turkish words, such as 'aga,' 'bey,' 'caftan,' 'caique,' 'caviare,' 'chouse,' 'effendi,' 'fez,' 'janisary,' 'ketch,' 'kiosk,' 'odalisque,' 'pillau,' 'scimitar,' 'shabrack,' 'tulip,' 'xebek,' 'yataghan.' Of 'civet' and 'mohair,' I believe it can only be asserted that they are Eastern. 'Amuck,' 'bamboo,' 'bantam,' 'caddy,' 'cassowary,' 'cockatoo,' 'creese,' 'gamboge,' 'gong,' 'gutta-percha,' 'lory,' 'mango,' 'mangoustan,' 'proa,' 'ratafia,' 'rattan,' 'sago,' 'upas,' 'urang-utang,' are all Malay. The following are Hindustani or Hindi: 'avatar,' 'banian,' 'bungalow,' 'calico,' 'catamaran,' 'chintz,' 'coolie,' 'cowrie,' 'curry,' 'jungle,' 'lac,' 'loot,' 'muslin,' 'pariah,' 'punch,'

'pundit,' 'rajah,' 'rice,' 'rupee,' 'ryot,' 'shaster,' 'thug,' 'toddy,' 'tom-tom.' 'Tea,' or 'tcha,' as it was once spelt, 'bohea,' 'hyson,' 'souchong,' are Chinese; so too are 'hong,' 'junk,' 'nankeen,' 'satin;' 'bonze' is Japanese.

To come nearer home—we have a certain number of Italian words, as 'alarm,' 'ambuscade,' 'attitude,' 'bagatelle,' 'balcony,' 'baldachin,' 'balustrade,' 'bandit' ('banditto' in Shakespeare), 'bankrupt,' 'banquet,' 'belladonna,' 'bergamot,' 'biretta,' 'bravo,' 'bravura,' 'brigand,' 'broccoli,' 'brusque,' 'burlesque,' 'bust' (it was 'busto' at first, drawn therefore from the Italian, not from the French), 'cadence,' 'cameo,' 'canto,' 'canzonet,' 'capuchin,' 'caricature,' 'carnival,' 'cartoon,' 'cartouche,' 'cascade,' 'casemate,' 'casino,' 'catafalque,' 'cavalcade,' 'charlatan,' 'citadel,' 'colonel,' 'colonnade,' 'concert,' 'contraband,' 'conversazione,' 'corridor,' 'credence,' 'cupola,' 'curvet,' 'dilettante,' 'ditto,' 'doge,' 'domino,' 'ducat,' 'extravaganza,' 'fiasco,' 'filagree,' 'folio,' 'fresco,' 'gabion,' 'gazette,' 'generalissimo,' 'gondola,' 'gonfalon,' 'grotto' ('grotta' in Bacon), 'gusto,' 'harlequin,' 'imbroglio,' 'inamorato,' 'influenza,' 'intaglio,' 'lagoon,' 'lava,' 'lavolta,' 'lazaretto,' 'macaroni,' 'madonna,' 'madrepore,' 'madrigal,' 'malaria,' 'manifesto,' 'maraschino,' 'masquerade' ('mascarata' in Hacket), 'mezzotint,' 'motett,' 'motto,' 'moustachio' ('mostaccio' in Ben Jonson), 'nuncio,' 'opera,' 'oratorio,' 'pantaloon,' 'parapet,' 'pedant,' 'pedantry,' 'pianoforte,' 'piaster,' 'piazza,' 'portico,' 'protocol,' 'proviso,' 'regatta,' 'ridotto,' 'rocket,' 'ruffian,' 'scaramouch,' 'seraglio,' 'serenade,' 'sirocco,' 'sketch,' 'solo,' 'sonnet,' 'stanza,' 'stiletto,' 'stucco,' 'studio,' 'tarantula,' 'terrace,' 'terracotta,'

'torso,' 'trombone,' 'tucket' (toccata), 'umbrella,' 'vedette,' 'vermicelli,' 'violoncello,' 'virtuoso,' 'vista,' 'volcano,' 'zany.' Others, some of them once common enough, as 'battalia' (battaglia), 'becco,' 'bona-roba,' 'bordello,' 'coranto,' 'cornuto,' 'fantastico,' 'impresa' (the armorial device on shields), 'magnifico,' 'malgrado' (=maugre), 'mandilion,' 'saltimbanco' (=mountebank), 'trill' (it is still 'trillo' in Butler), 'viliaco' (Shakespeare), are now obsolete. Sylvester has 'farfalla' for butterfly, but, so far as I know, this use is peculiar to him.

If this is at all a complete collection of our Italian words, the Spanish are nearly as numerous. It would be nothing wonderful if they were more; for although our literary relations with Spain have been slight indeed as compared with those which we have maintained with Italy, we have had other points of contact, friendly and hostile, with the former much more real than we have known with the latter. Thus we have from the Spanish, 'albino,' 'alligator' (el lagarto), 'anchovy,' 'armada,' 'armadillo,' 'balloon,' 'banana,' 'barricade,' 'bastinado,' 'bolero,' 'bravado,' 'brocade,' 'buffalo' ('buff,' or 'buffle' is the proper English word), 'buffoon,' 'camarilla,' 'cambist,' 'camisado,' 'cannibal,' 'capstan,' 'caracole,' 'caravel,' 'caraway,' 'carbonado,' 'cargo,' 'carrack,' 'cartel,' 'cask,' 'chocolate,' 'chopine,' 'cigar,' 'clove,' 'cochineal,' 'commodore,' 'creole,' 'desperado,' 'don,' 'doubloon,' 'dragoon,' 'duenna,' 'dulcimer,' 'eldorado,' 'embargo,' 'fandango,' 'fanfare,' 'farthingale,' 'filibuster,' 'flamingo' (flamenco), 'flotilla,' 'funambulo,' 'gala,' 'galleon,' 'garotte,' 'grandee,' 'grenade,' 'guerilla,' 'hackney,'

'hooker,'[1] 'indigo,' 'infanta,' 'jennet,' 'junto,' 'maravedi,' 'maroon,'[2] 'matadore,' 'merino,' 'molasses,' 'mosquito,' 'mulatto,' 'negro,' 'olio,' 'ombre,' 'palaver,' 'parade,' 'paragon,' 'parasol,' 'parroquet,' 'peccadillo,' 'picaroon,' 'pintado,' 'pistachio,' 'platina,' 'poncho,' 'punctilio' (for a long time spelt 'puntillo' in English books), 'quinine,' 'reformado,' 'salver,' 'sarsaparilla,' 'sassafras,' 'sherry,' 'soda,' 'stampede,' 'stoccado,' 'strappado,' 'tornado,' 'vanilla,' 'verandah.' 'Caprice' too we obtain rather from Spain than Italy; it was written 'capricho' by those who used it first. Other Spanish words, once familiar, are now extinct. 'Punctilio' lives on, but not 'punto,' which is common enough in Bacon. 'Privado,' a prince's favourite, one admitted to his *privacy* (frequent in Jeremy Taylor and Fuller), has disappeared; so too has 'titulado' and no less 'quirpo' (cuerpo), a jacket fitting close to the *body*; 'quellio' (cuello), a ruff or *neck*-collar; 'paramento,' 'matachin,' the title of a sword-dance; 'picaro,' equivalent to rogue, but to rogue of the Gil Blas type; 'primero,' a favourite game at cards; 'borachio,' a drunkard—all frequent in our early dramatists; and 'flota,' the constant name

[1] Not in our dictionaries; but a kind of coasting vessel well known to seafaring men, the Spanish 'urca;' thus in Oldys, *Life of Raleigh*: 'Their galleons, galleasses, gallies, *urcas*, and zabras were miserably shattered.'

[2] A 'maroon' is a negro who has escaped to the woods, and there lives wild. The word is a corruption of 'cimarron,' signifying wild in Spanish. In our earlier discoverers it still retains its shape (Drake writes it 'symaron'), though not its spelling. See *Notes and Queries*, 1866, p. 86.

of the annual treasure-fleet from the Indies. 'Intermess,' employed by Evelyn, is the Spanish 'entremes,' though not recognized as such in our dictionaries. 'Albatross,' 'assinego' (now obsolete), 'bayadere' (bailadeira), 'binnacle,' 'calabash,' 'carvel,' 'caste,' 'cobra,' 'dodo,' 'emu,' 'fetish,' 'gentoo,' 'lasso,' 'mandarin,' 'marmalade,' 'moidore,' 'palanquin,' 'pimento,' 'porcelain,' 'yam,' are Portuguese.

Celtic *things* for the most part we designate by Celtic words; such as 'bannock,' 'banshee,' 'bard,' 'brogues,' 'clan,' 'claymore,' 'cromlech,' 'cudgel,' 'dirk,' 'dolmen,' 'fillibeg,' 'flummery,' 'gilly,' 'kilt,' 'philibeg,' 'pibroch,' 'plaid,' 'reel,' 'shamrock,' 'slogan,' 'usquebaugh,' 'whiskey.' These which I have just named are for the most part words of comparatively recent introduction. 'Bog,' 'crag,' 'glen,' 'kibe,' 'kiln,' 'mattock,' 'mop,' 'mug,' 'noggin,'—with many more—how many is yet a very unsettled question—which at earlier dates found a place in our vocabulary, are derived from this same quarter.[1]

Then too the New World has given us a certain number of words, Indian and other—'agouti' (Brazilian), 'anana' or 'ananas' (the same), 'alpaca' (Peruvian), 'buccaneer,' 'cacique' ('cassiqui,' in Raleigh's *Guiana*), 'caiman,' 'calumet,' 'canoe' (Caribbean), 'caoutchouc' (the same), 'caribou,' 'catalpa,' 'chocolate' (Mexican), 'cocoa,' 'condor,' 'copal' (Mexican), 'guano' (Peruvian), 'guava,' 'hamoc' ('hamacca' in Raleigh), 'hominy,' 'iguana,' 'inca,'

[1] See Koch, *Hist. Gram. der Englischen Sprache*, vol. i. p. 4; Morris, *English Accidence*, p. 253; Earle *Philology of the English Tongue*, p. 20, sqq.

'ipecacuanha' (Brazilian), 'jaguar,' 'jalap,' 'lama,' 'mahogany,' 'maize' (Haytian), 'manitee,' 'mocassin,' 'mohawk,' 'moose,' 'opossum,' 'pampas' (Peruvian), 'pappoose,' 'pemmican,' 'pirogue,' 'potato' ('batata' in our earlier voyagers), 'puma' (Peruvian), 'raccoon,' 'sachem,' 'samp,' 'savannah' (Haytian), 'skunk,' 'squaw,' 'tapioca' (Brazilian), 'tobacco,' 'tomahawk,' 'tomata' (Mexican), 'wampum,' 'wapiti,' 'wigwam. If 'hurricane,' or 'hericano,' as it appears in Fuller and in others, was originally obtained from the Caribbean islanders,[1] it should be included in this list.

We may notice, finally, languages which have bestowed on us much smaller contributions. Thus, 'hussar,' 'uhlan,' are Hungarian; 'hetman,' 'polka,' Polish; 'briska,' 'czar,' 'drosky,' 'knout,' 'kopeck,' 'rouble,' 'ukase,' Russian; 'vampire,' Servian; 'caloyer,' Romaic; 'mammoth,' of some Siberian language; 'taboo,' 'tattoo,' Polynesian; 'caviar,' 'steppe,' Tartarian; 'gingham,' Javanese.[2] The language of New Zealand will bequeath us 'pah,' and some Australian dialect 'boomerang,' 'waddy,' and 'cooey;' while 'assegai,' 'chimpanzee,' 'gnu,' 'gorilla,' 'kraal,' 'quagga,' 'zebra,' belong to various African dialects.

Now I have no right to assume that any among those to whom I speak are equipped with that knowledge of other tongues which shall enable them to detect at once the nationality of all or most of the words which they meet—some of these greatly dis-

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[1] See Washington Irving, *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, b. viii. c. 9.

[2] But see Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*, s.v.

guised, and having undergone manifold transformations in the process of their adoption among us; but only that you have such helps at command in the shape of dictionaries and the like, and so much diligence in the use of these, as will enable you to trace out their birth and parentage. But possessing this much, I am confident to affirm that few studies will be more fruitful, will suggest more various matter of reflection, will more lead you into the secrets of the English tongue, than an analysis of passages drawn from different authors such as I have just now proposed. Thus you will take some passage of English verse or prose—say the first ten lines of *Paradise Lost*—or the Lord's Prayer—or the 23rd Psalm; you will distribute the whole body of words which occur in that passage, of course not omitting the smallest, according to their nationalities—writing, it may be, A over every Anglo-Saxon word, L over every Latin, and so on with the others, should any other find room in the portion submitted to examination. This done, you will count up the *number* of those which each language contributes; again, you will note the *character* of the words derived from each quarter.

Yet here, before passing further, let me note that in dealing with Latin words it will be well also to mark whether they are directly from it, and such might be marked L^1, or only mediately, and to us directly from the French, which would be L^2, or Latin at second hand. A rule holds generally good, by which you may determine this. If a word be directly from the Latin, it will have undergone little or no modification in its form and shape, save only in the termination.

'Innocentia' will have become 'innocency,' 'natio' 'nation,' 'firmamentum' 'firmament,' but this will be all. On the other hand, if it comes *through* the French, it will have undergone a process of lubrication; its sharply defined Latin outline will in good part have disappeared; thus 'crown' is from 'corona,' but through 'couronne,' and itself a dissyllable, 'coroune,' in our earlier English; 'treasure' is from 'thesaurus,' but through 'trésor;' 'emperor' is the Latin 'imperator,' but it was first 'empereur.' It will often happen that the substantive has thus reached us through the intervention of the French; while we have only felt at a later period our need of the adjective as well, which we have proceeded to borrow direct from the Latin. Thus 'people' is 'populus,' but it was 'peuple' first, while 'popular' is a direct transfer of a Latin vocable into our English glossary; 'enemy' is 'inimicus,' but it was first softened in the French, and had its Latin physiognomy in good part obliterated, while 'inimical' is Latin throughout; 'parish' is 'paroisse,' but 'parochial' is 'parochialis;' 'chapter' is 'chapitre,' but 'capitular' is 'capitularis.'

Sometimes you will find a Latin word to have been twice adopted by us, and now making part of our vocabulary in two shapes, each of these being doublet or 'doppelgänger,' as the Germans would call it, of the other. There is first the older word, which the French has given us; but which, before giving, it had fashioned and moulded; clipping or contracting, it may be, by a syllable or more, for the French devours letters and syllables; and there is the younger, borrowed at first hand from the Latin. The number of

these double adoptions, instances of 'dimorphism' as Latham, of 'dittology' as Heyse names them, is not small. Thus 'abbreviate' and 'abridge;' 'abyss' and 'abysm;' 'aggravate' and 'aggrieve;' 'balsam' and 'balm;' 'blaspheme' and 'blame;' 'cadence' and 'chance;' 'calix' and 'chalice;' 'captain' and 'chieftain;' 'captive' and 'caitiff;' 'coffin' and 'coffer;' 'compute' and 'count;' 'concept' and 'conceit;' 'compt' (obsolete) and 'quaint;' 'conduct' and 'conduit;' 'defect' and 'defeat;' 'desiderate' and 'desire;' 'digit' and 'doit;' 'dignity' and 'dainty;' 'dormitory' and 'dorter' (this last common in Jeremy Taylor); 'esteem' and 'aim;' 'fabric' and 'forge;' 'fragile' and 'frail;' 'faction' and 'fashion;' 'fidelity' and 'fealty;' 'granary' and 'garner;' 'fact' and 'feat;' 'hospital' and 'hotel;' 'indurate' and 'endure;' 'legal' and 'loyal;' 'major' and 'mayor;' 'oration' and 'orison;' 'pagan' and 'paynim;' 'particle' and 'parcel;' 'pauper' and 'poor;' 'penitence' and 'penance;' 'persecute' and 'pursue;' 'phantasm' and 'phantom;' 'potion' and 'poison;' 'probe' and 'prove;' 'quiet' and 'coy;' 'radius' and 'ray;' 'rapine' and 'ravine;' 'ration' and 'reason;' 'regal' and 'royal;' 'redemption' and 'ransom;' 'respect' and 'respite;' 'sacristan' and 'sexton;' 'secure' and 'sure;' 'species' and 'spice;' 'superficies' and 'surface;' 'tract,' 'treat,' and 'trait;' 'tradition' and 'treason;' 'zealous' and 'jealous.' I have in the instancing of these, named always the Latin form before the French; but the reverse has been no doubt in every instance the order in which the words were adopted by us; we had 'pursue' before 'perse-

cute,' 'spice' before 'species;' 'royalty' before 'regality,' and so with the others.[1]

[1] Something different from this, but also curious, is the passing of an old English word in two different forms, perhaps from two different dialects, into our modern language, where it is current in both: thus 'ant' and 'emmet;' 'bake' and 'batch;' 'bay,' 'bough,' and 'bow;' 'beacon' and 'beckon;' 'beech' and 'book;' 'bilge' and 'bulge;' 'byre' and 'bower;' 'con' and 'can;' 'deal' and 'dole;' 'deck' and 'thatch;' 'deem' and 'doom;' 'desk,' 'disc,' and 'dish;' 'dingy' and 'dungy;' 'down' and 'dune;' 'drag' and 'draw;' 'drench' and 'drink;' 'drip' and 'drop;' 'dull' and 'dolt;' 'dyke' and 'ditch;' 'elder' and 'older;' 'flea' and 'fly;' 'gnaw' and 'nag;' 'hale' and 'whole;' 'hay' and 'hedge;' 'heathen' and 'hoyden;' 'hut' and 'hood;' 'nook' and 'notch;' 'poke' and 'pouch;' 'school,' 'scull,' and 'shoal;' 'scale,' 'shell,' and 'shale;' 'score' and 'shear;' 'screech' and 'shriek;' 'screed' and 'shred;' 'scryne' and 'shrine;' 'shirt' and 'skirt;' 'shrew' and 'screw;' 'skiff' and 'ship;' 'spray' and 'sprig;' 'spurt' and 'sprout;' 'strut' and 'strought;' 'tow' and 'tug;' 'weald' and 'wood;' 'waggon' and 'wain;' 'whit' and 'wight.' Often we possess the same word, first in its more proper Teutonic shape, and secondly, as the Normans, having found it in France and made it their own, brought it with them here. Thus 'wise' and 'guise;' 'wed,' 'wage,' and 'gage;' 'wile' and 'guile;' 'warden' and 'guardian;' 'warranty' and 'guarantee.'

We have double adoptions from the Greek; one direct, one modified in passing through some other language; thus 'adamant' and 'diamond;' 'asphodel' and 'daffodil,' or 'affodil' as it used to be; 'cathedral' and 'chair;' 'dactyle' and 'date,' the fruit deriving its name from its likeness to a dactyle or finger, and in Bacon still known by this name; 'monastery' and 'minster;' 'paralysis' and 'palsy;' 'presbyter' and 'priest;' 'scandal' and 'slander;' 'theriac' and 'treacle.' 'Cypher' and 'zero,' I may add, are different adoptions of one and the same Arabic word.

The explanation of this more thorough change which the earlier form has undergone, is not far to seek. Words introduced into a language at a period when as yet writing is rare, and books are few or none, when therefore orthography is unfixed, or being purely phonetic, cannot properly be said to exist at all, have for a long time no other life save that which they live upon the lips of men. The checks therefore to alterations in the form of a word which a written, and still more which a printed, literature imposes are wanting; and thus we find words out of number altogether reshaped and remoulded by the people who have adopted them, so entirely assimilated to *their* language in form and termination, as in the end to be almost or quite indistinguishable from natives. On the other hand, a most effectual check to this process, a process sometimes barbarizing and defacing, even while it is the only one which will make the newly brought in entirely homogeneous with the old and already existing, is imposed by the existence of a much written language and a full-formed literature. The foreign word, being once adopted into these, can no longer undergo a thorough transformation. Generally the utmost which use and familiarity can do with it now, is to cause the gradual dropping of the foreign termination: not that this is unimportant; it often goes far to make a home for a word, and to hinder it from wearing any longer the appearance of a stranger and intruder.[1]

[1] The French language in like manner 'teems with Latin words which under various disguises obtained repeated admittance into its dictionary,' with a double adoption, one popular and reaching back to the earlier times of the language, the

But to return from this digression. I said just now that you would learn much from making an inventory

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other belonging to a later and more literary period, 'demotic' and 'scholastic' they have been severally called; on which subject see Génin, *Récréations Philologiques*, vol. i. pp. 162–166; Littré, *Hist. de la Langue Française*, vol. i. pp. 241–244; Fuchs, *Die Roman. Sprachen*, p. 125; Mahn, *Etymol. Forschung*. pp. 19, 46, and passim; Pellissier, *La Langue Française*, pp. 205, 232. Thus from 'acceptare,' 'acheter' and 'accepter;' from 'adamas,' 'aimant' (lodestone) and 'adamant;' from 'captivus,' 'caitif,' 'chétif' and 'captif;' from 'capitulum,' 'chapitre' and 'capitule' (a botanical term); from 'catena,' 'chaîne' and 'cadène;' from 'causa,' 'chose' and 'cause;' from 'consumere,' 'consommer' and 'consumer;' from 'decimare,' 'dîmer' and 'décimer;' from 'designare,' 'dessiner' and 'désigner;' from the Low Latin 'disjejunare,' 'dîner' and 'déjeûner;' from 'factio,' 'façon,' 'faction' and 'fashion;' from 'fragilis,' 'frêle' and 'fragile;' from 'gehenna,' 'gêne,' and 'géhenne;' from 'homo,' 'on' and 'homme;' from 'immutabilis,' 'immutable' and 'immuable;' from 'imprimere,' 'imprimer' and 'empreindre;' from 'ligare,' 'lier' and 'liguer;' from 'medulla,' 'moëlle' and 'médullaire;' from 'ministerium,' 'métier' and 'ministère;' from 'monasterium,' 'moûtier' and 'monastère;' from 'movere,' 'muer' and 'mouvoir;' from 'natalis,' 'noël' and 'natal;' from 'nativus,' 'naïf' and 'natif;' from 'obedientia,' 'obéissance' and 'obédience;' from 'paganus,' 'payen' and 'paysan;' from 'pastor,' 'pâtre,' a shepherd in the literal, and 'pasteur' in the tropical sense; from 'parabola,' 'parole' and 'parabole;' from 'paradisus,' 'parvis' and 'paradis;' from 'pensare,' 'peser' and 'penser;' from 'peregrinus,' 'pélerin' and 'pérégrin;' from 'pietas,' 'pitié' and 'piété;' from 'ponere,' 'poser' and 'pondre;' from 'rigidus,' 'raide' and 'rigide;' from 'sacramentum,' 'serment' and 'sacrement;' from 'sapidus,' 'sade' and 'sapide;' from 'scandalum,' 'esclandre' and 'scandale;' from 'scintilla,' 'étincelle' and 'scintille;' from

of the words of one descent and those of another occurring in any passage which you analyse; and noting the proportion which they bear to one another. Thus analyse the diction of the Lord's Prayer. Of the seventy words whereof it consists only the following six claim the rights of Latin citizenship—the noun 'trespasses,' the verb 'trespass,' 'temptation,' 'deliver,' 'power,' 'glory.' Nor would it be very difficult to substitute for any one of these an Old English word. Thus for 'trespasses' might be substituted 'sins;' for 'trespass' 'sin;' for 'deliver' 'free;' for 'power' 'might;' for 'glory' 'brightness;' which would only leave 'temptation' about which there could be the slightest difficulty; and 'trials,' though now employed in a somewhat different sense, would exactly correspond to it. This is but a small percentage, six words in seventy, or less than ten in the hundred; and we often light upon a still smaller proportion. Take, for example, the first three verses of the 23rd Psalm:—'The Lord is my Shepherd; therefore can I lack nothing; He shall feed me in a green *pasture*, and lead me forth beside the waters of *comfort*; He shall *convert* my soul, and bring me forth in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake.' Here are forty-five words, and only the three in italics are Latin;

'separare,' 'sevrer,' to separate from the mother's breast, and 'séparer;' from 'simulare,' 'sembler' and 'simuler;' from 'sollicitare,' 'soucier' and 'solliciter;' from 'strictus,' 'étroit,' and 'strict;' from 'vigilia,' 'veille' and 'vigile.' Not otherwise we have in Italian 'manco,' maimed, and 'monco,' maimed *of a hand*; 'rifutare,' to refute, and 'rifiutare,' to refuse; 'dama' and 'donna,' both forms of 'domina;' and in German 'probst' and 'profoss,' 'pacht' and 'pakt.'

for each of which it would be easy to substitute one of home growth; little more, that is, than the proportion of seven in the hundred; while in five verses out of Genesis, containing one hundred and thirty words, there are only five not Saxon,—less, that is, than four in the hundred; and, more notably still, the first four verses of St. John's Gospel, in all fifty-four words, have no single word that is not Saxon.[1]

Shall we therefore conclude that these are the proportions in which the Old English and Latin elements of the language stand to one another? Not so; the Old English words by no means outnumber the Latin to the extent which the analysis of those passages would seem to imply. It is not that there are so many more Anglo-Saxon words, but that the words which there are, being words of more primary necessity, do therefore so much more frequently recur. The proportions which the analysis of the *dictionary*, that is, of the language *at rest*, would furnish, are very different from those instanced just now, and which the analysis of *sentences*, or of the language *in motion*, gives. Thus if we analyse by aid of a *Concordance* the total vocabulary of the English Bible, not more than sixty per cent. of the words are native; but in the actual translation the native words are from ninety per cent. in some passages to ninety-six in others.[2]

[1] On the numerical proportions between Old English and Romance words in our present English, and the character and value of the several contributions, see Pott, *Etym. Forsch.* vol. ii. part i. pp. 96–101. I certainly in former editions of this book put the number of Romance words too low.

[2] See Marsh, *Manual of the English Language*, Engl. ed., p. 88, *sqq*. It is curious to note how very small a part of the

The proportion in Shakespeare's vocabulary of native words to foreign is much the same as in the English Bible, that is, about sixty to forty in every hundred; while an analysis of various plays gives a proportion of from eighty-eight to ninety-one per cent of native among those in actual employment. Milton gives results more remarkable still. We gather from a *Concordance* that only thirty-three in a hundred of the words employed by him in his poetical works are of Anglo-Saxon origin; while an analysis of a book of *Paradise Lost* yields eighty per cent of such, and of *L'Allegro* ninety. Indeed a vast multitude of his Latin words are employed by him only once.

The notice of this fact will lead us to some important conclusions as to the *character* of the words which the Saxon and the Latin severally furnish; and principally to this:—that while English is thus compact in the main of these two elements, their contributions are of very different characters and kinds. The Anglo-Saxon is not so much what I have just called it, one element of the English language, as the basis of it. All the joints, the whole *articulation*, the sinews and ligaments, the great body of articles, pronouns, conjunc-

language writers who wield the fullest command over its resources, and who, from the breadth and variety of the subjects which they treat, would be likely to claim its help in the most various directions, call into active employment. Set the words in the English language at the lowest, and they can scarcely be set lower than sixty thousand; and it is certainly surprising to learn that in our Bible somewhat less than a tenth of these, about six thousand, are all that are actually employed, that Milton in his poetry has not used more than eight thousand words, nor Shakespeare, with all the immense range of subjects over which he travels, more than fifteen thousand.

tions, prepositions, numerals, auxiliary verbs, all smaller words which serve to knit together and bind the larger into sentences, these, not to speak of the grammatical structure, are Saxon. The Latin may contribute its tale of bricks, yea, of goodly stones, hewn and polished, to the spiritual building ; but the mortar, with all which binds the different parts of it together, and constitutes them a house, is Saxon throughout. Selden in his *Table Talk* uses another comparison ; but to the same effect : 'If you look upon the language spoken in the Saxon time, and the language spoken now, you will find the difference to be just as if a man had a cloak which he wore plain in Queen Elizabeth's days, and since, here has put in a piece of red, and there a piece of blue, and here a piece of green, and there a piece of orange-tawny. We borrow words from the French, Italian, Latin, as every pedantic man pleases.' Whewell sets forth the same fact under another image : 'Though our comparison might be bold, it would be just if we were to say that the English language is a conglomerate of Latin words bound together in a Saxon cement ; the fragments of the Latin being partly portions introduced directly from the parent quarry, with all their sharp edges, and partly pebbles of the same material, obscured and shaped by long rolling in a Norman or some other channel.'

This same law holds good in all composite languages ; which, composite as they are, yet are only such in the matter of their vocabulary. There may be a motley company of words, some coming from one quarter, some from another ; but there is never a medley of grammatical forms and inflections. One or other language entirely predominates here, and

everything has to conform and subordinate itself to the laws of this ruling and ascendant language. The Anglo-Saxon is the ruling language in our present English. This having thought good to drop its genders, the French substantives which come among us must in like manner leave theirs behind them ; so too the verbs must renounce their own conjugations, and adapt themselves to ours.[1] 'The Latin and the French deranged the vocabulary of our language, but never its form or structure.'[2] A remarkable parallel to this might be found in the language of Persia, since the conquest of that country by the Arabs. The ancient Persian religion fell with the government, but the language remained totally unaffected by the revolution, and in its grammatical structure and organisation forfeited nothing of its Indo-germanic character. Arabic vocables, the only exotic words found in Persian, are found in numbers varying with the object, and quality, style and taste of the writers, but pages of pure idiomatic Persian may be written without employing a single word from the Arabic.

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[1] W. Schlegel (*Indische Bibliothek*, vol. i. p. 284) : Coëunt quidem paullatim in novum corpus peregrina vocabula, sed grammatica linguarum, unde petita sunt, ratio perit.

[2] Guest, *Hist. of English Rhythms*, vol. ii. p. 108. 'Languages,' says Max Müller, 'though mixed in their dictionaries, can never be mixed in their grammar. In the English dictionary the student of the science of language can detect by his own tests Celtic, Norman, Greek, and Latin ingredients ; but not a single drop of foreign blood has entered into the organic system of the English language. The grammar, the blood and soul of the language, is as pure and unmixed in English as spoken in the British Isles, as it was when spoken on the shores of the German Ocean by the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes of the Continent.'

At the same time the secondary or superinduced language, though powerless to force its forms on the language which receives its words, may yet compel that other to renounce a portion of its own forms, by the impossibility which is practically found to exist of making these fit the new-comers ; and thus it may exert, although not a positive, yet a negative, influence on the grammar of the other tongue. It has proved so with us. 'When the English language was inundated by a vast influx of French words, few, if any, French forms were received into its grammar; but the Saxon forms soon dropped away, because they did not suit the new roots ; and the genius of the language, from having to deal with the newly imported words in a rude state, was induced to neglect the inflections of the native ones. This, for instance, led to the introduction of the "s" as the universal termination of all plural nouns, which agreed with the usage of the French language, and was not alien from that of the Saxon, but was merely an extension of the termination of the ancient masculine to other classes of nouns.'[1]

If you wish to make actual proof of the fact just now asserted, namely, that the radical constitution of the language is Saxon, try to compose a sentence, let it be only of ten or a dozen words, and the subject entirely of your own choice, employing therein none but words of a Latin derivation. You will find it impossible, or next to impossible, to do so. Whichever way you turn, some obstacle will meet you in the face. There are large words in plenty, but no binding power ;

[1] J. Grimm, quoted in *The Philological Museum*, vol. i. p. 667.

the mortar which should fill up the interstices, and which is absolutely necessary for the holding together of the building, is absent altogether. On the other side, whole pages might be written, not perhaps on higher or abstruser themes, but on familiar matters of every-day life, in which every word should be of Saxon descent; and these, pages from which, with the exercise of a little patience and ingenuity, all appearance of awkwardness should be excluded, so that none would know, unless otherwise informed, that the writer had submitted himself to this restraint and limitation, and was drawing his words exclusively from one section of the English language. Sir Thomas Browne has given several long paragraphs so constructed. Here is a little fragment of one of them: 'The first and foremost step to all good works is the dread and fear of the Lord of heaven and earth, which through the Holy Ghost enlighteneth the blindness of our sinful hearts to tread the ways of wisdom, and lead our feet into the land of blessing.'[1] This is not stiffer than the ordinary English of his time.[2]

[1] *Works*, vol. iv. p. 202.

[2] What Ampère says of Latin as constituting the base of the French (*Formation de la Langue Française*, p. 196), we may say of Anglo-Saxon as constituting the base of our present English: Il ne s'agit pas ici d'un nombre plus ou moins grand de mots fournis à notre langue; il s'agit de son fondement et de sa substance. Il y a en français, nous le verrons, des mots celtiques et germaniques; mais le français est une langue *latine*. Les mots celtiques y sont restés, les mots germaniques y sont venus; les mots latins n'y sont point restés, et n'y sont point venus; ils sont la langue elle-même, ils la constituent. Il ne peut donc être question de rechercher quels sont les éléments latins du français. Ce que j'aurai à faire, ce sera d'indiquer ceux qui en

But because it is thus possible to write English, foregoing altogether the use of the Latin portion of the language, you must not therefore conclude this latter portion to be of little value, or that we should be as rich without it as with it. We should be very far indeed from so being. I urge this, because we hear sometimes regrets expressed that we have not kept our language more free from the admixture of Latin, and suggestions made that we should even now endeavour to restrain our employment of this within the narrowest possible limits. I remember Lord Brougham urging upon the students at Glasgow that they should do their best to rid their diction of long-tailed words in 'osity' and 'ation.' Now, doubtless there was sufficient ground and warrant for the warning against such which he gave them. Writers of a former age, Samuel Johnson in the last century, Henry More and Sir Thomas Browne in the century preceding, gave beyond all question undue preponderance to the learned, or Latin, element in our language; and there have never wanted those who have trod in their footsteps; while yet it is certain that nearly all of the homely

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le sont pas. Koch, in some words prefixed to his *Historic Grammar of the English Language*, has put all this in a lively manner. Having spoken of the larger or smaller contingents to the army of English words which the various languages have furnished, he proceeds: Die Hauptarmee, besonders das Volkheer, ist deutsch, ein grosses französisches Hilfs- und Luxuscorps hat sich angeschlossen, die andern Romanen sind nur durch wenige Ueberläufer vertreten, und sie haben ihre nationale Eigenthümlichkeit seltener bewahrt. Ein stärkeres Corps stellt das Lateinische; es hat Truppen stossen lassen zum Angelsächsischen, zum Alt- und Mittelenglischen, und sogar noch zum Neuenglischen.

strength and beauty of English, of its most popular and happiest idioms, would have perished from it, had they succeeded in persuading the great body of English writers to write as they had written.

But for all this we could *almost* as ill spare this Latin portion of the language as the other. Philosophy and science and the arts of an advanced civilisation find their utterance in the Latin words which we have made our own, or, if not in them, then in the Greek, which for present purposes may be grouped with them. Granting too that, all other things being equal, when a Latin and a Saxon word offer themselves to our choice, we shall generally do best to employ the Saxon, to speak of 'happiness' rather than 'felicity,' 'almighty' rather than 'omnipotent,' a 'forerunner' rather than a 'precursor,' a 'forefather' than a 'progenitor,' still these latter are as truly denizens in the language as the former ; no alien interlopers, but possessing the rights of citizenship as fully as the most Saxon word of them all. One part of the language is not to be unduly favoured at the expense of the other ; the Saxon at the cost of the Latin, as little as the Latin at the cost of the Saxon. 'Both,' as De Quincey, himself a foremost master of English, has well said, 'are indispensable ; and speaking generally, without stopping to distinguish as to subject, both are *equally* indispensable. Pathos, in situations which are homely, or at all connected with domestic affections, naturally moves by Saxon words. Lyrical emotion of every kind, which (to merit the name of *lyrical*) must be in the state of flux and reflux, or, generally, of agitation, also requires the Saxon element of our language. And why? Because the Saxon is the aboriginal element ;

the basis and not the superstructure : consequently it comprehends all the ideas which are natural to the heart of man and to the elementary situations of life. And although the Latin often furnishes us with duplicates of these ideas, yet the Saxon, or monosyllabic part, has the advantage of precedency in our use and knowledge ; for it is the language of the nursery whether for rich or poor, in which great philological academy no toleration is given to words in "osity" or "ation." There is therefore a great advantage, as regards the consecration to our feelings, settled by usage and custom upon the Saxon strands in the mixed yarn of our native tongue. And universally this may be remarked—that whenever the passion of a poem is of that sort which *uses*, *presumes*, or *postulates* the ideas, without seeking to extend them, Saxon will be the "cocoon" (to speak by the language applied to silk-worms), which the poem spins for itself. But, on the other hand, where the motion of the feeling is *by* and *through* the ideas, where (as in religious or meditative poetry—Young's for instance, or Cowper's) the pathos creeps and kindles underneath the very tissues of the thinking, there the Latin will predominate ; and so much so that, whilst the flesh, the blood, and the muscle will be often almost exclusively Latin, the articulations only, or hinges of connection, will be Anglo-Saxon.' On this same matter Sir Francis Palgrave has expressed himself thus : 'Upon the languages of Teutonic origin the Latin has exercised great influence, but most energetically on our own. The very early admixture of the *Langue d'Oil*, the never interrupted employment of the French as the language of education, and the nomenclature created by the scientific and

literary cultivation of advancing and civilized society, have Romanized our speech; the warp may be Anglo-Saxon, but the woof is Roman as well as the embroidery, and these foreign materials have so entered into the texture, that, were they plucked out, the web would be torn to rags, unravelled and destroyed.'[1]

We shall nowhere find a happier example of the preservation of the golden mean than in our Authorized Version of the Bible. Among the minor and secondary blessings conferred by that Version on the nations drawing their spiritual life from it,—a blessing only small by comparison with the infinitely greater blessings whereof it is the vehicle to them,—is the happy wisdom, the instinctive tact, with which its authors have kept clear in this matter from all exaggeration. There has not been on their parts any futile and mischievous attempt to ignore the full rights of the Latin element of the language on the one side, nor on the other any burdening of the Version with so many learned Latin terms as should cause it to forfeit its homely character, and shut up large portions of it from the understanding of plain and unlearned men. One, the most eminent among those who in our own times abandoned the communion of the English Church for that of the Church of Rome, has expressed in deeply touching tones his sense of all which, in renouncing our Translation, he felt himself to have foregone and lost. These are his words: 'Who will not say that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country? It lives on the

[1] *History of Normandy and England*, vol. i. p. 78.

ear, like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells, which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. . . . . The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments, and all that there has been about him of soft and gentle and pure and penitent and good speaks to him for ever out of his English Bible. . . . . It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed, and controversy never soiled. In the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant with one spark of religiousness about him, whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible.'[1]

Certainly one has only to compare this Version of ours with the Rhemish, at once to understand why he should have thus given the palm and preference to ours. I urge not here the fact that one translation is from the original Greek, the other from the Latin Vulgate, and thus the translation of a translation, often reproducing the mistakes of that translation; but, putting all such higher advantages aside, only the superiority of the diction in which the meaning, be it correct or incorrect, is conveyed to English readers. Thus I open the Rhemish Version at Galatians v. 19,

[1] In some earlier editions of this book I used language which seemed to ascribe these words to Cardinal Newman, whose I supposed they were. They indeed occur in an Essay by the late Dr. Faber on '*The Characteristics of the Lives of the Saints*,' prefixed to a *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, p. 116.

where the long list of the 'works of the flesh,' and of the 'fruit of the Spirit,' is given. But what could a mere English reader make of terms such as these—'impudicity,' 'ebrieties,' 'comessations,' 'longanimity,' all which occur in that passage; while our Version for 'ebrieties' has 'drunkenness,' for 'comessations' has 'revellings,' for 'longanimity' 'long-suffering'? Or set over against one another such phrases as these,—in the Rhemish, 'the exemplars of the celestials' (Heb. ix. 23), but in ours, 'the patterns of things in the heavens.' Or suppose if, instead of what *we* read at Heb. xiii. 16, 'To do good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased,' we read as in the Rhemish, 'Beneficence and communication do not forget; for with such hosts God is promerited'!—Who does not feel that if our Version had been composed in such Latin-English as this, had been fulfilled with words like the following—'agnition,' 'coinquinations,' 'contristate,' 'donary,' 'exinanite,' 'odible,' 'postulations,' 'suasible,' 'zealatour,'—which all, with many more of the same mint, are found in the Rhemish Version,—our loss would have been great and enduring, such as would have been felt through the whole religious life of our people, in the very depths of the national mind?[1]

There was indeed something deeper than love of sound and genuine English at work in our Translators, whether they were conscious of it or not, which hindered them from presenting the Scriptures to their

[1] There is more on this matter in my book, *On the Authorized Version of the New Testament*, pp. 33–35; and in Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, 1868, p. 333.

fellow-countrymen dressed out in such a semi-Latin garb as this. The Reformation, which they were in this translation so effectually setting forward, was just a throwing off, on the part of the Teutonic nations, of that everlasting pupilage in which Rome would fain have held them; an assertion that they were come to full age, and that not through her, but directly through Christ, they would address themselves unto God. The use of Latin as the language of worship, as the language in which alone the Scriptures might be read, had been the great badge of servitude, even as the Latin habits of thought and feeling which it promoted had been most important helps to the continuance of this servitude, through long ages. It lay deep then in the essential conditions of the conflict which the Reformers were maintaining, that they should develope the Saxon, or essentially national, element in the language; while it was just as natural that the Roman Catholic translators, if they must render the Scriptures into English at all, should yet render them into such English as should bear the nearest possible resemblance to that Latin Vulgate, which Rome, with a wisdom that in such matters has never failed her, would gladly have seen as the only version of the Book in the hands of the faithful.[1]

[1] Where the word itself which the Rhemish translators employ is a perfectly good one, it is yet instructive to observe how often they draw on the Latin portion of the language, where we have drawn on the Saxon,—thus 'corporal' where we have 'bodily' (1 Tim. iv. 8), 'irreprehensible' where we have 'blameless' (1 Tim. iii. 2), 'coadjutor' where we have 'fellow-worker' (Col. iv. 11), 'prescience' where we have 'foreknowledge' (Acts ii. 23), 'dominator' where we have 'Lord' (Jude

Let me again, however, recur to the fact that what our Reformers did in this matter, they did without exaggeration; even as they have shown the same wise moderation in matters higher than this. They gave to the Latin side of the language its rights, though they would not suffer this to encroach upon and usurp those of the other. It would be difficult not to believe, even if many outward signs did not suggest the same, that there is an important part in the future for that one language of Europe to play, which thus serves as connecting link between the North and the South, between the languages spoken by the Teutonic nations of the North and by the Romance nations of the South; which holds on to and partakes of both.[1] There are who venture to hope that the English Church, having in like manner two aspects, looking on the one side toward Rome, being herself truly Catholic, looking on the other toward the Protestant communions, being herself also protesting and reformed, may have reserved for her in the providence

4), 'cogitation' where we have 'thought' (Luke ix. 46), 'fraternity' where we have 'brotherhood' (1 Pet. ii. 17), 'senior' where we have 'elder' (Rev. vii. 13), 'annunciation' where we have 'message' (1 John i. 5), 'supererogate' where we have 'spend more' (Luke x. 35), 'exprobrate' where we have 'upbraid' (Mark xvi. 14), 'prohibit' where we have 'forbid' (2 Pet. ii. 16), 'incontinent' where we have 'straightway' (Mark ix. 24), 'stipends' where we have 'wages' (Luke iii. 14), 'artificer' where we have 'craftsman' (Acts xix. 24), 'inexplicable' where we have 'hard' (Heb. v. 11).

[1] See a paper, *On the Probable Future Position of the English Language*, by T. Watts, Esq., in the *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, vol. iv. p. 207; and compare the concluding words in Guest's *Hist. of English Rhythms*, vol. ii. p. 429.

of God an important share in that reconciling of a divided Christendom, whereof we are bound not to despair. And if this ever should be so, if, notwithstanding our sins and unworthiness, so blessed an office should be in store for her, it will be no small assistance to this, that the language in which her mediation will be effected, is one wherein both parties may claim their own, in which neither will feel that it is receiving the adjudication of a stranger, of one who must be an alien from its deeper thoughts and habits, because an alien from its words, but a language in which both must recognize very much of that which is deepest and most precious of their own.[1]

Nor is this prerogative which I have just claimed for our English the mere dream and fancy of patriotic vanity. The scholar most profoundly acquainted with the great group of the Teutonic languages in Europe, a devoted lover, if ever there was such, of his native German, I mean Jacob Grimm, has expressed himself very nearly to the same effect, and given the palm over all to our English in words which you will not grudge to hear quoted, and with which I shall bring this lecture to a close. After ascribing to our language

[1] Fowler (*English Grammar*, p. 135): 'The English is a medium language, and thus adapted to diffusion. In the Gothic family it stands midway between the Teutonic and the Scandinavian branches, touching both, and to some extent reaching into both. A German or a Dane finds much in the English which exists in his own language. It unites by certain bonds of consanguinity, as no other language does, the Romanic with the Gothic languages. An Italian or a Frenchman finds a large class of words in the English which exist in his own language, though the basis of the English is Gothic.'

'a veritable power of expression, such as perhaps never stood at the command of any other language of men,' he goes on to say, 'Its highly spiritual genius, and wonderfully happy development and condition, have been the result of a surprisingly intimate union of the two noblest languages in modern Europe, the Teutonic and the Romance.—It is well known in what relation these two stand to one another in the English tongue; the former supplying in far larger proportion the material groundwork, the latter the spiritual conceptions. In truth the English language, which by no mere accident has produced and upborne the greatest and most predominant poet of modern times, as distinguished from the ancient classical poetry (I can, of course, only mean Shakespeare), may with all right be called a world-language; and, like the English people, appears destined hereafter to prevail with a sway more extensive even than its present over all the portions of the globe.[1] For in wealth, good

[1] A little more than two centuries ago a poet, himself abundantly deserving the title of 'well-languaged,' which a contemporary or near successor gave him, ventured in some remarkable lines timidly to anticipate this. Speaking of his native English, which he himself wrote with such vigour and purity, though deficient in the passion and fiery impulses which go to the making of a first-rate poet, Daniel exclaims:

> 'And who, in time, knows whither we may vent
> The treasure of our tongue? to what strange shores
> This gain of our best glory shall be sent,
> To enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
> What worlds in the yet unformèd Occident
> May come refined with the accents that are ours?
> Or who can tell for what great work in hand
> The greatness of our style is now ordained?

sense, and closeness of structure no other of the languages at this day spoken deserves to be compared with it—not even our German, which is torn, even as we are torn, and must first rid itself of many defects, before it can enter boldly into the lists, as a competitor with the English.'[1]

What powers it shall bring in, what spirits command,
What thoughts let out, what humours keep restrained,
What mischief it may powerfully withstand,
And what fair ends may thereby be attained?'

[1] *Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache*, Berlin, 1832, p. 50. Compare Philarète Chasles, *Études sur l'Allemagne*, pp. 12–33.

LECTURE II.

ENGLISH AS IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

WE have seen that many who have best right to speak are strong to maintain that English has gained far more than it has lost by that violent interruption of its orderly development which the Norman Conquest brought with it, that it has been permanently enriched by that immense irruption and settlement of foreign words within its borders, which followed, though not immediately, on that catastrophe. But there here suggests itself to us an interesting and not uninstructive subject of speculation: what, namely, this English language would actually now be, if there had been no Battle of Hastings; or a Battle of Hastings which William had lost and Harold won. When I invite you to consider this, you will understand me to exclude any similar catastrophe, which should in the same way have issued in the setting up of an intrusive dynasty, supported by the arms of a foreign soldiery, and speaking a Romanic as distinguished from a Teutonic language, on the throne of England. I lay a stress upon this last point—a people speaking a Romanic language; inasmuch as the effects upon the language spoken in England would have been quite different, would have fallen far short of those which actually found place, if the great Canute had succeeded in founding a Danish, or

Harold Hardrada a Norwegian, dynasty in England—Danish and Norwegian both being dialects of the same Gothic language which was already spoken here. Some differences in the language now spoken by Englishmen, such issues,—and one and the other were at different times well within the range of possibility,—would have entailed ; but differences inconsiderable by the side of those which have followed the coming in of a conquering and ruling race speaking one of the tongues directly formed upon the Latin.

This which I suggest is only one branch of a far larger speculation. It would be no uninteresting undertaking if one thoroughly versed in the whole constitutional lore of England, acquainted as a Palgrave was with Anglo-Saxon England, able to look into the seeds of things and to discern which of these contained the germs of future development, which would grow and which would not, should interpret to us by the spirit of historic divination, what, if there had been no successful Norman invasion, would be now the social and political institutions of England, what the relations of the different ranks of society to one another, what the division and tenure of land, what amount of liberty at home, of greatness abroad, England would at this day have achieved. It is only on one branch of this subject that I propose to enter at all.[1]

It may, indeed, appear to some that even in this I am putting before them questions which are in their very nature impossible to solve, which it is therefore

[1] I need hardly say that, when these lectures were first delivered, neither Stubbs nor Freeman had written.

unprofitable to entertain ; since dealing, as here we must, with what might have been, not with what actually has been or is, all must be mere guesswork for us ; and, however ingenious our guesses, we can never test them by the touchstone of actual fact, and so estimate their real worth. But such an objection would rest on a mistake, though a very natural one. I am persuaded we *can* know to a very large extent how, under such conditions as I have supposed, it would have fared with our tongue, what the English would be like which, in such a case, the dwellers in this island would be speaking at this day. The laws which preside over the development of language are so fixed and immutable, and capricious as they may seem, there is really so little caprice in them, that if we can at all trace the course which other kindred dialects have followed under such conditions as English would then have been submitted to, we may thus arrive at very confident conclusions as to the road which English would have travelled. And there *are* such languages ; more or less the whole group of Teutonic languages are such. Studying any one of these, and the most obvious of these to study would be the German, we may learn very much of the forms which English would now wear, if the tremendous shock of one ever-memorable day had not changed so much in this land, and made England and English both so different from what otherwise they would have been.

At the same time I would not have you set *too* high the similarity which would have existed between the English and other languages of the Teutonic family, even if no such huge catastrophe as that had mixed so

many new elements in the one which are altogether foreign to the other. There are *always* forces at work among tribes and people which have parted company, one portion of them, as in this instance, going forth to new seats, while the other tarried in the old ; or both of them travelling onward, and separating more and more from one another, as in the case of those whom we know as Greeks and Italians, who, going forth from those Illyrian highlands where they once dwelt together, occupied each a peninsula of its own ; or, again, as between those who, like the Britons of Wales and of Cornwall, have been violently thrust asunder and separated from one another by the intrusion of a hostile people, like a wedge, between them ; there are, I say, forces widening slowly but surely the breach between the languages spoken by the one section of the divided people and by the other, multiplying points of diversity between the speech of those to whom even dialectic differences may once have been unknown. This, that they should travel daily further from one another, comes to pass quite independently of any such sudden and immense catastrophe as that of which we have been just speaking. If there had been no Norman Conquest, nor any event similar to it, it is yet quite certain that English would be now a very different language from any at the present day spoken in Germany or in Holland. Different of course it would be from that purely conventional language, now recognized in Germany as the only language of literature ; but very different too from any dialect of that Low German, still popularly spoken on the Frisian coast and lower banks of the Elbe, to which no doubt it would have borne a far

closer resemblance. It was indeed already very different when that catastrophe arrived. The six hundred years which, on the briefest reckoning, had elapsed since the Saxon immigration to these shores —that immigration having probably begun very much earlier—had in this matter, as in others, left their mark.

I will very briefly enumerate some of the dissimilating forces, moral and material, by the action of which those who, so long as they dwelt together, possessed the same language, little by little become more or less of barbarians to one another.

One branch of the speakers of a language engrafts on the old stock numerous words which the other does not in the same way make its own ; and this from various causes. It does so through intercourse with new races, into contact and connection with which it, but not the other branch of the divided family, has been brought. Thus in quite recent times, South-African English, spoken in the presence of a large Dutch population at the Cape, has acquired such words as these : 'foreloper,' 'gemsbok,' 'kloof,' 'kranz,' 'laager,' 'roer,' 'spoor,' 'springbok,' 'spruit,' 'steinbok,' 'veld,' 'wildbeest,' 'to inspan,' 'to outspan,' 'to treck ;' which, in these shapes at least, we do not know at all. In like manner the great English colony in India has acquired 'ayah,' 'bungalow,' 'coolie,' 'dacoit,' 'dhooly,' 'durbar,' 'howdah,' 'loot,' 'maharajah,' 'mahout,' 'nabob,' 'nautch,' 'nullah,' 'pariah,' 'pundit,' 'punkah,' 'rajah,' 'ranee,' 'rupee,' 'ryot,' 'suttee,' 'tiffin,' 'thug,' 'tulwar,' 'zemindar,' 'zenana,' with many more. It is true that we too have adopted some of these, and understand them all.

But suppose there were little or no communication between us at home and our colony in India, no passing from the one to the other, no literature common to both, here are the beginnings of what would grow in lapse of years to an important element of diversity between the English of England and of India. Or take another example. The English-speaking race in America has encountered races which we do not encounter here, has been brought into relation with aspects of nature which are quite foreign to us here. For most of these they have adopted the words they found ready made to their hands by those who occupied the land before them, or still occupy it side by side with them; they have borrowed, for example, 'boss' from the Dutch of New York; 'pampas' and 'savannah' from the Indian; 'bayou,' 'cache,' 'crevasse,' 'chute,' 'levée,' 'portage,' from the French of Louisiana or of Canada; 'adobe,' 'canyon' (cañon), 'chaparral,' 'corral,' 'hacienda,' 'lariat,' 'mustang,' 'placer,' 'rancho' or 'ranche,' 'sierra,' 'tortilla,' with the slang verb 'to vamose' (the Spanish 'vamos,' let us go), from the Spaniards of Mexico and California. In like manner 'backwoodsman,' 'lumberer,' 'squatter,' 'pine-barren,' are words born of a condition of things with which we are unfamiliar. And this which has thus happened elsewhere, happened also here. The Britons—not to enter into the question whether they added much or little—must have added something, and in the designation of natural objects, as in 'aber,' 'pen,' and 'strath,' certainly added much[1] to the vocabulary of the Saxon immigrants into this island,

[1] Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places*, 2nd edit. p. 193.

of which those who remained in continental Saxony knew nothing.[1] Again, the Danish and Norwegian inroads into England were inroads not of men only, but also of words. In all this an important element of dissimilation made itself felt.

Then too, where languages have diverged from one another before any definite settlement has taken place in the dictionary, from among the numerous synonyms for one and the same object which the various dialects of the common language afford, one people will perpetuate one, and the other another, each of them after a while losing sight altogether of that on which their choice has not fallen. That mysterious sentence of death which strikes words, we cannot tell why, others not better, it may be worse, taking their room—for it is not here always 'a survival of the fittest'—will frequently cause a word to perish from one branch of what was once a common language, while it lives on, and perhaps unfolds itself into a whole family, in another. Thus of the words which the Angles and Saxons brought with them from beyond the sea, some have lived on upon our English soil, while they have perished in that which might be called, at least by comparison, their native soil. Innumerable others, with an opposite fate, have here died out, which have continued to flourish there. As a specimen of those which have found English air more healthful than German we may instance 'bairn.' This, once common to all the Teutonic languages, is now extinct in the whole Germanic group, and has been so for centuries, 'kind' having taken its place; while it lives

[1] Earle, *Philology of the English Tongue*, p. 19.

with us and in the tongues of the Scandinavian family. Others, on the contrary, after an existence longer or shorter with us, have finally disappeared here, while they still maintain a vigorous life on the banks of the Elbe and the Eyder. A vulture is not here any more a 'geir' (Holland), nor, except in some local dialects, a rogue a 'skellum' (Urquhart), as little is he a 'schalk;' neither is an uncle (a *mother's* brother) an 'eame,' and this while 'geir' and 'schelm' and 'schalk' and 'oheim' still maintain a vigorous existence there. Each of these words which has thus perished, and they may be counted by hundreds and thousands, has been replaced by another, generally by one which is strange to the sister language, such as either it never knew, or of which it has long since lost all recollection. There is thus a twofold process at work for the estrangement of the one from the other. In what has gone a link between them has been broken; in what has come in its room an element of diversity has been introduced. Sometimes, even where a word lives on in both languages, it will have become provincial in one, while it keeps a place in the classical diction of the other. Thus 'klei' is local and provincial in Germany,[1] while 'clay' has everywhere free course with us.

Or where a word has not actually perished in one section of what was once a common language, it will have been thrust out of general use in one, but not in the other. Thus 'ross,' earlier 'hros,' is rare and poetical in German, very much as 'steed' with us,

[1] See Grimm, *Wörterbuch*, s. v.

having in every-day use given way to 'pferd;' while 'horse' has suffered no corresponding diminution in the commonness of its use. 'Head' in like manner has fully maintained its place; but not so 'haupt,' which during the last two or three centuries has been more and more giving way to 'kopf.'

Again, words in one language and in the other will in tract of time and under the necessities of an advancing civilization appropriate to themselves a more exact domain of meaning than they had at the first, yet will not appropriate exactly the same; or one will enlarge its meaning and the other not; or in some other way one will drift away from moorings to which the other has remained true. Our 'timber' is the same word as the German 'zimmer,' but it has not precisely the same meaning; nor 'rider' as 'ritter,' nor 'hide' as 'haut;' neither is 'beam' exactly the same as 'baum,' nor 'reek' as 'rauch,' nor 'schnecke' (in German a snail) as 'snake;' nor 'dapper' as 'tapfer,' nor 'deer' as 'thier,' nor 'glück' as 'luck,' nor 'toy' as 'zeug,' nor 'acre' as 'acker,' nor 'whine' as 'weinen,' nor 'quell' as 'quälen,' nor 'selig' as 'silly,' nor 'till' as 'ziel,' nor 'tide' and 'tidy' as 'zeit' and 'zeitig.' 'Booby' suggests an intellectual deficiency, 'bube' a moral depravity. 'Lust' in German has no subaudition of *sinful* desire; it has acquired such in English. 'Knight' and 'knecht' have travelled in very different directions, so too have 'knave' and 'knabe.' Much of this divergence in measure is the work of the last two or three hundred years, so that the process of dissimilation is still going forward. Thus 'elders' were parents in England not very long ago, quite as much as 'eltern' are

parents to this day in Germany.[1] 'To grave' was once to bury, as 'graben' is still. 'Taufer' in German is solemn, 'dipper' in English is familiar. The English of England and the English of America are already revealing differences of the same kind. 'Corn' on the other side of the Atlantic means always maize, 'grain' means always wheat; while we know nothing here of these restrictions of meaning. Nay, similar differences may be traced nearer home. By 'blackberries' in Scotland are meant what we call black currants. A 'merchant' there is not what we know in England by this name, but a shopkeeper;[2] while in Ireland by a 'tradesman' is meant not a grocer, butcher, or some other engaged in the distribution of commodities, but an artisan, a bricklayer, glazier, carpenter, or the like. In Northumberland wheat is 'sheared,' and the reapers are 'shearers,' while sheep are 'clipt.' Here is another force at work which is evermore tending to make more distinctly two what at the outset had been only one.

Nor is this all. 'Languages,' as Max Müller has said, 'so intimately related as Greek and Latin have fixed on different expressions for son, daughter, brother, woman, man, sky, earth, moon, hand, mouth, tree, bird.' It could scarcely have been otherwise; for the primary law of all naming is that the name shall be drawn from that which strikes the namers as the most prominent and characteristic feature of the thing to be named. But it will generally happen that complex objects have not one characteristic only, but many; and these very often with about equal

[1] See my *Select Glossary*, 5th edit., s. v. Elders.

[2] Κάπηλος, not ἔμπορος.

claims to be represented and embodied in the word, while yet this in its narrow limits can rarely seize or embody more than one. Thus when the different seasons of the year claimed to have each a distinct connotation of its own, it became necessary, among the rest, to designate the winter season. But from how many points of view this might be regarded. It might be looked at as the season when the days are shortest ; and evidently this is one of the points about it which strikes the most ; as such it is 'bruma' = 'brevissuma.' Or again, it might be regarded as the time when the windows of heaven are opened and the skies *pour down* their floods ; as such it is χειμών, to which 'hiems' is nearly related. Or once more, it may impress men's minds as a time of blustering and roaring *winds* ; this is the point which in our 'winter' we have seized. Or take another illustration. It is necessary to call an army by some name or other. It may fitly derive this name from the fact that it is an assemblage of *armed* and not of unarmed men. It does this in our 'army' and in the French 'armée.' Or it may be contemplated not merely as an assembly of men with weapons in their hands, 'men with musquets ;' but of men trained and *exercised* to the use of these weapons. This was what the Romans had in their eye when they called it 'exercitus.' In the German 'heer' there is, probably at least, the notion of multitude ; for there are few or no such immense gatherings of men to a single spot as armies offer ; while in the Greek στρατός the notion which has suggested, and is embodied in, the word is that of these huge multitudes camping out and *stretching themselves* over vast regions of space.

Sometimes indeed there is one peculiarity which so impresses itself upon eye or ear that it is impossible to overlook it, or to avoid a reference to it in the name which the object bears. Take an example of this on a small scale, but such as will serve quite as well as one upon a larger, our own 'water-wagtail.' Most of us will have watched the quick incessant motion of the tail, which is so distinctive a feature of this graceful little bird that it has in all or nearly all European languages drawn its name from it; as in our 'wagtail,' in the Greek σεισούρα, in the Latin 'motacilla,' in the Dutch 'quicksteert,' in the Italian 'codatremola,' in the French 'hochequeue.' So in like manner the cuckoo could hardly escape, and as far as I know, has not anywhere escaped, obtaining a name from its peculiar cry.

But cases such as these last are quite the exceptions. In most instances there will be various aspects or features of a thing, which will compete for the honour of finding expression in its name; and no one of them with rights absolutely superior to those of every other. One will be preferred to all the others by one people, and one by another; such as gain the day probably putting the others quite out of use, or reducing them to a merely provincial existence. There is here a principle and process of differentiation at work, by aid of which languages, though proceeding from the same root, and not going out of themselves to seek words from abroad, may acquire a totally different nomenclature for the commonest objects.[1]

[1] See Max Müller, *On the Science of Language*, 1 ser. p. 271; and compare on this *Divergence of Dialects* Marsh, *Origin and History of the English Language*, p. 82 sqq.

But further, in the same way as the arm of one man increases in bulk and no less in sinewy strength, being put to vigorous use, while the same limb in another, who had not called forth the energies which are latent in it, shows no corresponding growth, even so it fares with man's speech. It is indeed marvellous how quickly a language will create, adopt, adapt words in any particular line of things to which those who speak that language are specially addicted; so that while the language may remain absolutely poor in every other domain, it will prove nothing less than opulent in this.[1] It will follow that where races occupying once the same seats separate off from one another, and one group or both seek new seats for themselves, the industrial tendencies of the divided

[1] Pott (*Etym. Forschung.* vol. ii. p. 134) supplies some curious and instructive examples of this unfolding of a language in a particular direction. Thus in the Zulu, where the chief or indeed entire wealth consists in cattle, there are words out of number to express cows of different ages, colours, qualities. Instead of helping themselves out as we do by an adjective, as a *white* cow, a *red* cow, a *barren* cow, they have a distinctive word for each of these. *We* do not think or talk much about cocoa-nuts, and only seeing them when they are full ripe, have no inducement to designate them in other stages of their growth; but in Lord North's Island, where they are the main support of the inhabitants, they have five words by which to name the fruit in its several stages from the first shoot to perfect maturity. In the Hebrew there are four different words to designate the locust in four successive stages of its development (Ewald *on Joel*, i. 4). In the Dorsetshire dialect there are distinct names for the four stomachs of ruminant animals (Barnes, *Glossary*, p. 78). In Lithuanian there are five different names for as many kinds of stubble (Grimm, *Gesch. der Deutschen Sprache*, vol. i. p. 69).

groups, as influenced by the different physical aspects and capabilities of the regions which they occupy, will evoke a large development in each of words and phrases wherein the other will have no share. Thus the occupants of this Island became by the very conditions of their existence, and unless they were content to be indeed what the Latin poet called them, 'altogether separated from the whole world,' a seafaring people. It has followed that the language has grown rich in terms having to do with the sea and with the whole life of the sea, far richer in these than are the dialects spoken by the mediterranean people of Germany. They, on the contrary, poor in this province of words, are far better furnished than we are with terms relating to those mining operations which they pursued much earlier, on a scale more extended, and with a greater application of science and skill, than we have done.

There has been for centuries a vigorous activity of political life in England which has needed, and needing has fashioned for itself, a diction of its own. Germany, on the contrary, is so poor in corresponding terms, that when with the weak beginnings of constitutional forms in our own day some of these terms became necessary, it was obliged to borrow the word 'bill' from us. It is true that in this it was no more than reclaiming and recovering a word of its own, which had been suffered to drop through and disappear.

The same word will obtain a slightly different pronunciation, or spelling, in the one language and the other. Where there is no special philological training, a very slight variation in the former will often effec-

tually conceal from the ear, as in the latter from the eye, an absolute identity, and for all practical purposes constitute them not one and the same word common to both languages, but two and different. Most of us in attempting to speak a foreign language, or to understand our own as spoken by a foreigner, have had practical experience of the obstacles to understanding or being understood, which a very slight departure from the recognized standard of pronunciation will create. And quite as effectual as differences of pronunciation for the ear, are differences of spelling for the eye, in the way of making recognition hard, or even impossible. It would be curious to know how many Englishmen who have made fair advances in German, as commonly taught, have recognized the entire identity of 'deed' and 'that,' of 'fowl' and 'vogel,' of 'vixen' and 'füchsinn,' of 'dough' and 'teig,' of 'oath' and 'eid,' of 'through' and 'durch,' of 'dreary' and 'traurig,' of 'ivy' and 'epheu,' of 'evening' and 'abend,' of 'death' and 'tod,' of 'quick' and 'keck,' of 'deal' and 'theil,' of 'enough' and 'genug;' or of other pairs of words out of number which might be quoted. It is only too easy for those who are using the very same words, to be, notwithstanding, as barbarians to one another. When I hear or read of Gaels making themselves at this day intelligible in Brittany, with other marvellous stories of like kind, I decline to give to them any credence whatever. The parties may have understood one another, but not by aid of speech.

Again, what was the exception at the time of separation will in one branch of the divided family have grown into the rule, while perhaps in the other

branch it will have been disallowed altogether. So too idioms and other peculiar usages will have obtained allowance in one branch, which, not finding favour with the other, will in it be esteemed as violations of the law of the language, or at any rate declensions from its purity. Or again, idioms which one people have overlived, and have stowed away in the unhonoured lumber-room of the past, will still be in use and honour with the other; and thus it will sometimes come to pass that what seems, and in fact is, the newer swarm, a colony which has gone forth, will have older idioms than the main body of a people which has remained behind, will retain an archaic air and old-world fashion about the words they use, their way of pronouncing, their order and manner of combining them. Thus after the Conquest our insular French gradually diverged from the French of the Continent. The Prioress in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* could speak her French 'full faire and fetishly;' but it was French, as the poet slyly adds,

> 'After the scole of Stratford atte bow,
> For French of Paris was to hire unknowe.'[1]

One of our old chroniclers, writing in the reign of Elizabeth, informs us that by the English colonists within the Pale in Ireland numerous words were preserved in common use,—'the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English,' as he contemptuously calls them,—which were quite obsolete and forgotten in England itself. Thus they called a spider an 'atter-

[1] For more on this subject see *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1869, p. 355.

cop'—a word, by the way, still in popular use in the North ;—a physician a 'leech,' as in poetry he is still styled ;—a dunghill a 'mixen,'—the word is common to this day all over England ; a quadrangle or base-court a 'bawn ;'[1] they employed 'uncouth' in the earlier sense of 'unknown.' Nay more, their pronunciation and general manner of speech was so diverse from that of England, that Englishmen at their first coming over often found it hard or impossible to comprehend. Something of the same sort took place after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the consequent formation of colonies of French Protestant refugees in various places, especially in Amsterdam and other chief cities of Holland. There gradually grew up among these what was called 'refugee French,'[2] which within a generation or two diverged in several particulars from the classical language of France ; the divergence being mainly occasioned by the fact that this 'refugee French' remained stationary, while the classical language was in motion ; that retained words and idioms, which this had let go.[3]

[1] The only two writers whom Richardson quotes as using this word are Spenser and Swift, both writing in Ireland and of Irish matters.

[2] There is an excellent account of this 'refugee French' in Weiss's *History of the Protestant Refugees of France.*

[3] Lyell (*On the Antiquity of Man*, p. 466) confirms this from another quarter :—'A German colony in Pennsylvania was cut off from frequent communication with Europe, for about a quarter of a century, during the wars of the French Revolution between 1792 and 1815. So marked had been the effect even of this brief and imperfect isolation, that when Prince Bernhard of Saxe Weimar travelled among them a few years after the peace, he found the peasants speaking as they had done in Ger-

So, too, there is, as I am assured, a marked difference between the Portuguese spoken in the old country and in Brazil, as certainly there is between the Dutch spoken in Holland and in South Africa. In such cases 'there is a kind of arrest of development, the language of the emigrants remaining for a long time at the stage at which it was when emigration took place, and altering more slowly than the mother tongue, and in a different direction.'[1]

Again, the wear and tear of a language, the using up of its forms and flexions, the phonetic decay which is everywhere and in all languages incessantly going forward, will proceed at a faster rate in one branch of the divided language than in the other; or, if not faster, will not light upon exactly the same forms or the same words; or, if on the same, yet not exactly upon the same letters. Thus, to take an example of

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many in the preceding century, and retaining a dialect which at home had already become obsolete (see his *Travels in North America*, p. 123). Even after the renewal of the German emigration from Europe, when I travelled in 1841 among the same people in the retired valleys of the Alleghanies, I found the newspapers full of terms half English and half German, and many an Anglo-Saxon word which had assumed a Teutonic dress, as "fencen" to fence, instead of umzäunen, "flauer" for flour, instead of mehl, and so on. What with the retention of terms no longer in use in the mother country and the borrowing of new ones from neighbouring states, there might have arisen in Pennsylvania in five or six generations, but for the influx of new comers from Germany, a mongrel speech equally unintelligible to the Anglo-Saxon and to the inhabitants of the European fatherland.' Compare Sir G. C. Lewis, *On the Romance Languages*, p. 49.

[1] Ellis, *On Early English Pronunciation*, p. 20.

this last, the Latin 'sum' and the Greek εἰμί, the same word, as I need hardly tell you, are both greatly worn away,—worn away in comparison with words of rarer use, as sixpences, passing oftener from hand to hand, lose their image and superscription much faster and much more completely than crowns,—but they are not worn away in precisely the same letters ; each has kept a letter belonging to an earlier form of the word, which the other has not kept, and lost a letter which the other has not lost.[1] This too, the unequal, and as it seems to us, the arbitrary, incidence of phonetic decay, will account for much.

Nor may we leave out of sight what the elder Grimm has dwelt on so strongly, and brought into so clear a light—namely, the modifying influence on the throat and other organs of speech, and thus on human speech itself, which soil and climate exercise—an influence which, however slight at any one moment, yet being evermore in operation, produces results very far from slight in the end. We have here a main explanation of the harsh and guttural sounds which those dwelling in cold mountainous districts make their own, of the softer and more liquid tones of such as dwell in the plains and under a more genial sky. These climatic influences indeed reach very far, not merely as they affect the organs of speech, but also the characters of those who speak ; which characters will not fail in their turn to utter themselves in the language. Where there is a general lack of energy and consequent shrinking from effort, this will very soon manifest itself in a corresponding feebleness in

[1] Pott, *Etym. Forsch.* vol. ii. p. 258.

the pronunciation of words, while, on the other hand, a Dorian strength will show itself in a corresponding breadth and boldness of utterance.

But it would lead me too far, were I to attempt to make an exhaustive enumeration of all the forces which are constantly at work, to set ever farther from one another in this matter of language those who once were entirely at one. These causes which I have instanced must suffice. The contemplation of these is enough to make evident that, even could we abstract all the influences upon English which the Norman Conquest has exercised, it would still remain a very different language at this day from any now spoken by Old-Saxon or Frisian,[1] that it would be

[1] In the contemplation of facts like these it has been sometimes anxiously asked, whether a day will not arrive when the language now spoken alike on this side of the Atlantic and on the other, will divide into two languages, an Old English and a New. It is not impossible, and yet we can confidently hope that such a day is far distant. For the present at least, there are mightier forces tending to keep us together than those which are tending to divide. Doubtless, if they who went out from among us to people and subdue a new continent, had left these shores two or three centuries earlier than they did, when the language was much farther removed from that ideal after which it was unconsciously striving, and in which, once reached, it has in great measure acquiesced ; if they had not carried with them to their new homes their English Bible, their English Shakespeare, and what else of worth had already uttered itself in the English tongue ; if, having once swarmed, the intercourse between Old and New England had been entirely broken off, or only rare and partial ; there would then have unfolded themselves differences between the language spoken here and there, which, in tract of time accumulating and multiplying, might already have gone far to constitute the languages no longer one, but two. As it is,

easy to rate far too highly the resemblance which under other circumstances might have existed between

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however, the joint operation of those three causes, namely, that the separation did not take place in the infancy or early youth of the language, but only in its ripe manhood, that England and America own a body of literature, to which they alike look up and appeal as containing the authoritative standards of the language, that the intercourse between the two peoples has been large and frequent, hereafter probably to be larger and more frequent still, has up to this present time been strong enough effectually to traverse, repress, and check all those forces which tend to divergence. At the same time one must own that there are not wanting some ominous signs. Of late, above all since the conclusion of their great Civil War, some writers on the other side of the Atlantic have announced that henceforth America will, so to speak, set up for herself, will not accept any longer the laws and canons of speech which may here be laid down as of ultimate authority for all members of the English-speaking race, but travel in her own paths, add words to her own vocabulary, adopt idioms of her own, as may seem the best to her. She has a perfect right to do so; either to make or mar as it shall prove. The language is as much hers as ours. There are on this matter some excellent remarks in Dwight's *Modern Philology*, 1st ser. p. 141, with which compare Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, p. 173. Still, for our own sake, who now read so many books from America with profit and delight, and look forward to a literature grander and more original still unfolding itself there, for our own sake, that I do not speak of hers, we must hope that 'to donate,' 'to pacate,' 'to placate,' 'to berate,' 'to orate' (to speak, that is, with a view to distant constituents), 'to reluct,' 'to eventuate,' 'to conveyance,' 'to belittle,' 'to happify,' 'shortage,' 'expressage,' 'declinature,' 'skrimpy,' 'scrimption,' 'unleisuredness,' 'retrogressionist,' 'resurrected,' 'factatively,' 'displurgingly,' and the like, are not fair specimens of the words which will constitute the future *differentia* between the vocabularies of America and of England.

English and the other dialects of the Teutonic stock. Still they would have then resembled one another far more nearly than now they do. Let us endeavour a little to realize to ourselves English as it might then have been; and in view of this consider the disturbing forces which the Norman domination in England brought with it, and what their action upon the language was. We shall so be better able to measure what the language in the absence of these influences would have been.

The Battle of Hastings had been lost and won. Whether, except for the strange and terrible coincidence of the two invasions of England north and south, almost at the same instant, the English battle-axes might not have proved a match for the Norman spears we cannot now determine. But the die was cast. The invader on that memorable day of St. Calixtus had so planted his foot on English soil, that all after efforts were utterly impotent to dislodge him. But it took nearly three centuries before the two races, the victors and the vanquished, who now dwelt side by side in the same land, were thoroughly reconciled and blended into one people. During the first century which followed the Conquest, the language of the native population was, as they were themselves, utterly crushed and trodden under foot. A foreign dynasty, speaking a foreign tongue, and supported by an army of foreigners, was on the throne of England; Norman ecclesiastics filled all the high places of the Church, filled probably every place of honour and emolument; Norman castles studded the land. During the second century, a reaction may very distinctly be traced, at first most feeble, but little by

little gathering strength, on the part of the conquered race to reassert themselves, and as a part of their reassertion to reassert the right of English to be the national language of England. In the third century after the Conquest it was at length happily evident that Normandy was for ever lost (1206), that for English and Norman-English alike there was no other sphere but England; this reassertion of the old Saxondom of the land gaining strength every day; till, as a visible token that the vanquished were again the victors, in the year 1349 English and not French was the language taught in the schools of this land.[1]

But the English, which thus emerged from this struggle of centuries during which it had refused to die, was very different from that which had entered into it. The whole of its elaborate inflections, its artificial grammar, showed tokens of thorough disorganization and decay; indeed most of it had already disappeared. How this came to pass I cannot better explain to you than in the words of the Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford. 'Great and speedy,' he observes, 'must have been the effect of the Norman Conquest in ruining the ancient grammar. The leading men in the state having no interest in the vernacular, its cultivation fell immediately into neglect.

[1] On the whole subject of the relations in which the language of a conquering people will stand to the language of the conquered, and on the causes which will determine the final triumph of the one or the other, the reader is referred to Freeman's *Origin of the English Nation*, Lecture III., in *Macmillan's Magazine*, May, 1870, pp. 31–46, and his *Norman Conquest*, vol. v. p. 506 sqq. See also Sayce, *Principles of Comparative Philology*, p. 175 sqq.

The chief of the Saxon clergy deposed or removed, who should now keep up that supply of religious Saxon literature, of the copiousness of which we may judge even in our day by the considerable remains that have outlived hostility and neglect? Now that the Saxon landowners were dispossessed, who should patronize the Saxon bard, and welcome the man of song in the halls of mirth? The shock of the Conquest gave a deathblow to Saxon literature. The English language continued to be spoken by the masses who could speak no other; and here and there a secluded student continued to write in it. But its honours and emoluments were gone, and a gloomy period of depression lay before the Saxon language as before the Saxon people. The inflection system could not live through this trying period. Just as we accumulate superfluities about us in prosperity, but in adversity we get rid of them as encumbrances, and we like to travel light when we have only our own legs to carry us—just so it happened to the English language. For now all these sounding terminations that made so handsome a figure in Saxon courts; the -AN, the -UM; the -ERA, the -ANA; the -IGENNE and -IGENOUM; all these, superfluous as bells on idle horses, were laid aside when the nation had lost its own political life, and its pride of nationality, and had received leaders and teachers who spoke a strange tongue.'[1]

But another force, not from within but from without, had been at work also for the disorganization of the language and the effectual breaking up of its grammar. A conquering race under the necessity of

[1] Earle, *The Philology of the English Tongue*, p. 41.

communicating with a conquered in their own tongue is apt to make very short work of the niceties of grammar in that tongue, to brush all these away, as so much trumpery, which they will not be at the pains to master. If they can make their commands intelligible, this is about all for which they are concerned. They go straight to this mark; but whether, in so doing, adjective agree with substantive, or noun duly follow verb, or preposition govern its proper case, for all this they care nothing, if only they have made themselves understood. And this is not all; there is a secret satisfaction, a conscious sense of superiority, in thus stripping the language of its grace and ornament, outraging its laws, compelling it to novel forms, showing, even while it is used, how little it is regarded, and making thus not merely the wills, but the very speech of the conquered, to confess its subjection.[1]

Nor was it the grammar only which had thus become a ruin. Those three centuries had made enormous havoc in the vocabulary as well. Rich and expressive as this had been in the palmy days of Anglo-Saxon literature, abundantly furnished as undoubtedly then it was with words having to do with matters of moral and intellectual concern, and in the nomenclature of the passions and affections, it was very far from being richly supplied with them now. Words which dealt with the material interests of every day life could scarcely help remaining familiar and vernacular; but those pertaining to the higher domains of thought, feeling, and passion, and to all loftier cul-

[1] Compare Sir G. C. Lewis, *On the Romance Languages*, pp. 21–23.

ture either moral or material, had in vast multitudes dropt out of use and been forgotten. Curious illustrations have been given of the destruction which had been wrought in some of the most illustrious and far-branching families of words, so that of these there did not half a dozen, of others there did not one representative, survive.[1]

The destruction of grammatical forms was, it is true, only the acceleration and the more complete carrying out of what would anyhow have come to pass, although perhaps not so thoroughly, as certainly not at so early a date. For indeed there is nothing more certain than that all languages in that period of their lives whereof it is possible to take historic cognizance are in a continual process of simplifying themselves, dropping their subtler distinctions, allowing the mere collocation of words in their crude state or other devices of the same kind to do what once was done by inflexion. 'Had no Norman ever set foot on our shores, the inflexional Old-English would still have passed sooner or later into the non-inflexional modern English.'[2] All which the Norman settlement in England did was to hasten the inevitable process, and to make it more complete. To this subject, however, I shall have occasion by and by to recur; I will not therefore dwell upon it here. But the insufficiency of the vocabulary, consequent in part on these losses which it had sustained, in part on the novel thoughts and things that claimed now to find

[1] Thus see Marsh, *Origin and History of the English Language*, pp. 113, 443; and on this particular matter more interesting still, Oliphant, *Old and Middle English*, p. 488 sqq.

[2] Freeman, *The Norman Conquest*, vol. v. p. 509.

utterance by it, was a less tolerable result of those centuries of depression; one, however, capable of partial if not of complete remedy; which the perishing of grammatical forms, even if remedy had been looked for, was not.

Two ways were open here. An attempt might have been made to revive and recover the earlier words which had been lost and let go; and where new needs demanded expression, to fabricate from the vernacular words which should meet and satisfy these new needs. Now, if the revival of English nationality had meant the expulsion or destruction of the dominant Norman race, this would very probably have been the course taken; and the reaction would have put under a common ban language and institutions alike. But happily it meant no such thing. It meant the blending of the two races into one, the forming of a new English nation by the gradual coalition or rather fusion of the two, by the growing consciousness that this England was the equal heritage of both, its welfare the common interest of both. It was on neither side a triumph, or rather, as are all true reconciliations, it was on both sides a triumph. Where indeed under these circumstances should a supply of the new necessities be so naturally looked for as from the French? That was the language of one of the parties in this happy transaction; of the one which, in respect of language, was giving up far the most, and which therefore might fairly look for this partial compensation. Words of theirs, few as compared with those which should hereafter find an entrance into the English tongue, but not few in themselves, had already effected a lodgement there;

others, if not adopted, had become more or less familiar to English ears; not to say that the language which they spoke owned at that time a literature far in advance of any other in modern Europe, a literature eagerly read here as elsewhere in originals or translations more or less free, representing, as it did, that new world which was springing up, and not, as the Anglo-Saxon did, an old world which was passing or had passed away.

Now it is a very interesting question, and one which often has been discussed, What proportion do the French words which then found their way into the language, or which have subsequently entered by the door which was thus opened to them, by the declaration then virtually made that their admission was *not* contrary to the genius of the language, bear to the original stock of language on which they were engrafted? A recent enquirer, who professes to have made an inventory of the whole language, has arrived at this result, namely, that considerably more than one half of our words, not indeed of those which we use in writing, still less in speaking, but more than one half of those registered in our dictionaries, are Romanic,[1] are therefore in one way or another the result and consequence of the Norman Conquest, and except for it would with very few exceptions never have found their way to us at all.

The proportion which he indicates is probably too high. But without entering upon this question, let us assume for our present purpose that there are in

[1] Thommerel, *Recherches sur la Fusion du Franco-Normand et de l'Anglo-Saxon.* Paris, 1841.

round numbers one hundred thousand words in the English language,—we can make them almost any number we please, according to the scheme of enumeration upon which we start, can bring them up to half as many again, or reduce them, as some have done, to less than one half,[1]—and let us further suppose that a multitude, I ask not exactly how many thousands of these, have come to us through that contact with France into which the Battle of Hastings and its consequences brought us, and except for these would never have reached us at all. Let us, I say, assume this; and a problem the most interesting presents itself to us—namely, how should we, or whoever else under the altered condition of England might in that event have been at this moment living in England, have supplied the absence of these words? What would the people of this land have done, if the language had never received these additions? It would be a slight and insufficient answer, in fact no answer at all, to reply, They would have done without them. They *could not* have done without them. The words which we thus possess, and which it is suggested we might have done without, express a multitude of facts, thoughts, feelings, conceptions, which, rising up before a people growing in civilization, in knowledge, in learning, in intercourse with other lands, in consciousness of its own vocation in this world, *must* find their utterance by one means or another, could not have gone without some words or other to declare them. The problem before us is, *what* these means

[1] Thus in Johnson's *Dictionary* the words beginning with *Z* are 29 in number; in Todd they are 47; in Webster, 89.

would have been ; by what methods the language would have helped itself, if it had been obliged, like so many sister-dialects, to draw solely on its own resources, to rely on home manufactures, instead of importing, as it was able to do, so many serviceable articles ready made from abroad.

To this question I answer first and generally, and shall afterwards enter into particulars, that necessity is the mother of invention, and that many powers of the language, which are now in a great measure dormant, which have been only partially evoked, would have been called into far more frequent and far more vigorous exercise, under the pressure of those necessities which would then have made themselves felt. Take, for example, the power of composition, that is, of forming new words by the combination of old—a power which the language possesses, though it is one which has grown somewhat weak and stiff through disuse. This would doubtless have been appealed to far more frequently than actually it has been. Thrown back on itself, the language would have evolved out of its own bosom, to supply its various wants, a far larger number of compound words than it has now produced. This is no mere guess of mine. You have only to look at the sister German language—*half*-sister it is now, it would have been *whole* sister but for that famous field of Hastings—and observe what it has effected in this line, how it has stopped the gaps of which it has gradually become aware by aid of these compound words, and you may so learn what *we*, under similar conditions, would have done. Thus, if we had not found it more convenient to adopt the French 'desert,' if English had been

obliged, like the spider, to spin a word out of its own bowels, it might have put 'sand-waste' together, as the German actually has done. This and other words I shall suggest may sound strange to you at first hearing, but would have long since left off their strangeness, had they been current for some hundreds of years. If we had not the Low-Latin 'massacre,' we might have had 'blood-bath,' which would not be a worse word in English than in German. So too, if we had not had 'deluge,' the Latin 'diluvium,' we too might have lighted on 'sin-flood,' as others have done. A duel might have been a 'two-fight' or 'twifight,' following the analogy of 'twilight' and 'twibill.' Instead of 'pirate' we might have had 'sea-robber;' indeed, if I do not mistake, we have the word. We should have needed a word for 'hypocrisy;' but the German 'scheinheiligkeit' at any rate suggests that 'shewholiness' might have effectually served our turn. This last example is from the Greek, but the Greek in our tongue entered in the rear of the Latin, and would not have entered except by the door which that had opened.

At the same time it will be well to keep this in mind, namely, that the fact of Germans having fallen on these combinations does not make it in the least certain that we should have fallen upon the same. There is a law of necessity in the evolution of languages; they pursue certain courses on which we may confidently count, courses not to be accelerated nor yet defeated or thwarted by any forces which we have at command. But there is a law of liberty no less, and this liberty, making itself felt in this region, together with a thousand other causes, leaves it quite

certain that in some, and possibly in all these instances, we should have supplied our wants in some other way, not travelled in exactly the same paths as they have struck out for themselves. Thus, nearly allied as the Dutch is to the German, and greatly under German influence as it has been, it has a number of compound words of which the German knows nothing.[1] Still the examples which I have given sufficiently indicate to us the *direction* which the language would have taken.

But we are not here driven to a region of conjectures, or to the suggesting what *might* have been done. We can actually appeal to a very numerous company of these compound words, which have been in the language; but which have been suffered to drop, the Latin competitors for some reason or other having, in that struggle for existence to which words are as much exposed as animals, carried the day against it. Now we may confidently affirm that all, or very nearly all, of these would have survived to the present hour, would constitute a part of our present vocabulary, if they had actually been wanted; and they would have been wanted, if competing French words, following in the train of the conquering race, had not first made them not indispensable, and then wholly pushed them from their places. When I say this I do not mean to imply that these words were all actually born before the Norman Conquest, but only that the Conquest brought influences to bear, which were too strong for them and in the end cut short their existence.

[1] See Jean Paul, *Aesthetik*, § 84.

Thus, if we had not proverb, 'soothsaw' or 'by-word' would have served our turn; 'sourdough' would have supplied the place of leaven; 'wellwillingness' of benevolence; 'againbuying' of redemption; 'againrising' of resurrection; 'undeadliness' of immortality; 'uncunningness' of ignorance; 'unmildness' of asperity; 'forefighter' of champion; 'earthtilth' of agriculture; 'earthtiller' of agriculturist; 'comeling' of stranger; 'greatdoingly' of magnificently; 'to afterthink' (still in use in Lancashire), might have stood for to repent; 'to beforesay' for to prophesy; 'medeful' for meritorious; 'untellable' or 'unoutspeakable' for ineffable; 'dearworth' for precious; 'turngidy' for vertigo—all which are in Wiclif. How grand a word, and better even than his 'undeadliness,' is 'undeathshuldigness' (I have very slightly modernized the spelling), which occurs in the *Ormulum*, instead of 'immortality.' Chaucer has 'foreword' for promise; 'bodeword' for prohibition; *Piers Ploughman* 'goldhoard' for treasure; and Layamon 'bookhouse' for library. 'Tongful' (see Bosworth), or 'tungy' (Wiclif), might have stood for loquacious; 'truelessness' for perfidy; 'footfast' for captive; 'allwitty' (*Pricke of Conscience*) for omniscient; 'witword' for testimony; 'godspeller' (Hampole) for evangelist; 'welldeed' for benefit; 'againcalling' for revocation. Jewel has 'foretalk' for preface; Coverdale 'childship' for adoption, 'shewtoken' for sign, 'to unhallow' for to profane; Holland 'sunstead' for solstice; Rogers 'turnagains' for reverses. As little should we have let go 'bookcraft' for literature, 'shipcraft' for navigation, 'leechcraft' or 'leechdom' for medicine, 'wordcraft' for logic, 'songsmith'

for poet, 'warsmith' for soldier, 'shapesmith' for posture-maker, 'tilman' (Golding) for agriculturist, 'timberwright' for carpenter. 'Starconner' (Gascoigne) did service once side by side with astrologer; 'redesman' with counsellor; 'halfgod' (Golding) has the advantage over demigod, that it is all of one piece; 'to eyebite' (Holland) tell its story at least as well as to fascinate; 'to overwin' as to vanquish; 'weaponshew' (the word, for us a little disguised, still lives in Scotland) as review; 'yearday' (*Promptorium*) as anniversary; 'shriftfather' as confessor; 'unrestfulness' (Spenser) as disquietude; 'evenhood' (Levins) as equality; 'betterment' (Jackson) as amelioration; 'holdings' (Pecock) as tenets; 'unshunnable' (Shakespeare) as inevitable. 'Earshrift' (Tyndale) is only two syllables, while auricular confession is eight; 'eyeproof' has the same advantage over ocular demonstration; 'waterfright' is preferable to our awkward hydrophobia; 'watersick' is as good as dropsical; and 'squint,' if homelier than hagioscope, might yet have served our turn as well. The lamprey (lambens petram) would have been, as in country parts it now is, the 'suckstone' or the 'lickstone;' and the anemone the 'windflower.' For remorse of conscience we might have had, and it exactly corresponds, 'ayenbite of inwyt,' being, as this is, the title of a remarkable religious treatise of the middle of the fourteenth century; in which I observe among other noticeable substitutes for our Latin words, 'unlusthead' for disinclination. Emigrants would everywhere have been called what they are now called in districts of the North, 'outwanderers' or 'outgangers;' natives would have been 'homelings;' apologies would have

been 'offcomes' (Whitby dialect). A preacher who should bid us to sacrifice some of our 'neednots' (the word is in Fuller), instead of some of our superfluities, to the wants of others, would deliver his message as well, perhaps better, than now. He might do the same who should enumerate the many 'pullbacks' (it is a Puritan word), instead of the many hindrances, which we find in the way of attaining to eternal life.[1]

Then too with the absence from the language of the Latin prefixes, the Saxon would have come far more into play. The Latin which we employ the most frequently, or rather which are oftenest found in words which we have adopted, are 'sub' as in 'subdue,' 'subtract;' 'de' as in 'descendant,' 'deprive;' 'circum' as in 'circumference,' 'circumvent;' and 'præ' or 'pro' as in 'predecessor,' 'progenitor.' Had these been wanting, the Latin words to which they

[1] In his *Outlines of English Speechcraft* Barnes has suggested a large number of thoroughly English words, which might with more or less advantage be made to exclude and take the place of Greek, Latin, and French, which we now employ. In these he is always ingenious, and although sometimes, it may be, playing with his readers, still playing as only the accomplished scholar could do. Here is a handful of his suggestions, being of the number of such as have pleased me the most. Thus for aeronaut he would suggest 'airfarer,' for accessory 'deedsmate,' for anachronism 'mistiming,' for armistice 'warpause' or 'weaponstay,' for annuity 'yeardole,' for adulation 'glavering,' for botany 'wortlore,' for burglary 'housebreak,' for deciduous 'fallsome,' for democracy 'folkdom,' for domicile 'wonstead,' for equilibrium 'weightevenness,' for flexible 'bendsome,' for bibulous 'soaksome,' for horizon 'skyline,' for fragile 'breaksome,' for preface 'foresay'—but this will suffice.

are prefixed would have been wanting too. How would the language have fared without them? Not so ill. They would have left no chasm which it would not have been comparatively easy to fill up. Thus if the speakers of English had not possessed 'subjugate' they would have had 'underyoke;' if not 'subvert,' yet still 'underturn;' and so on with many more now to be found in Wiclif's Bible and elsewhere. There is not at the present moment a single word in the English language—one or two may perhaps survive in the dialects—beginning with the prefix 'um,' the Old English 'ymb,' the Greek ἀμφί. There were once a great many. An embrace was an 'umgripe' or a gripe round, a circuit an 'umgang;' the circumference or periphery of a circle was the 'umstroke;' to surround was to 'umlapp' (*Pricke of Conscience*); to besiege on every side 'to umbesiege' (Sibbald, *Glossary*). The last appearance of 'umstroke,' if I am not mistaken, is in Fuller, who uses it more than once in his *Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, while it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to find so late an example of any of the other words with this prefix. We might have had, and probably should have had in the case which I am imagining, a large group of such words, in place of those now beginning with 'circum.' In the absence of 'præ' or 'pro,' 'fore,' which even now enters into so many of our words, as 'foretell,' 'forewarn,' would have entered into more. As we have just seen, for preface we should have 'foretalk,' or 'forespeech' (*Ayenbite*); for predecessor 'foreganger,' for presentiment 'forefeeling,' as indeed we have 'foreboding,' for progenitor 'fore-elder;'—in

all this I am not guessing, but am everywhere adducing words which existed once in the language.

The prefix 'for,' adding an intensitive meaning, one, that is, of thoroughness, and corresponding to the German 'ver,' the Latin 'per,' to which we already owe several excellent words, 'forlorn,' 'forbid,' 'forego,' would have yielded us many more, each one of which would have rendered some Latin word superfluous. We can adduce the participles, 'forwandered' (*Piers Ploughman*), 'forwounded,' 'forwept,' 'forpined,' 'forbruised,' with many more in Chaucer, 'forwearied,' 'forwasted' (Spenser), 'forwelked,' and the verb 'forfaren,' to go to ruin (exactly the Latin 'per-ire'), 'forshapen' (*Piers Ploughman*), 'forwithered,' 'forfaint' (Sackville), with other words not a few, as samples of what further in this direction, if need had urged, the language could have effected. 'Mis' too, which already does much work, as in 'misplace,' 'mislead,' 'mishappen,' if this last may be claimed as still existing, would have been called to do more; instead of to abuse we should have had 'to miscall' (the word is even now in popular use); and the like. 'Dis' too, which does much, would have done much more, as in 'dismaiden' (Florio), 'disnature' (Shakespeare), 'dismasque' (the same), 'disfavour.' 'Out' would have been put to more duty than now it is; thus 'outtake' would have kept the place from which now it has been thrust by 'except,' as 'outdrive' has been by 'expel.' It would have fared the same with 'after.' Instead of our successors we should speak of our 'aftercomers;' consequences would have been 'aftercomings;' posthumous would have been 'afterborn;' a postscript an 'aftertale.' All these too

existed once. 'To backjaw' is current in some of our dialects still, and would have been a vigorous substitute for 'to retort.'

Something, again, may be concluded of what the English-speaking race would have been able to effect, if thrown exclusively on such resources as it possessed at home, by considering the more or less successful attempts of some who have chosen, without any such absolute necessity, to travel the paths which, in that case, there would have been no choice but to tread. Thus Sir John Cheke, in his version of St. Matthew, has evidently substituted, as often as he could, Saxon words for Greek and Latin; thus for proselyte he has substituted 'freshman,' for prophet 'foreshewer' and 'foresayer,' for lunatic 'mooned,' 'outpeopling' for carrying into captivity, 'outcalled' for elect. Puttenham in the 'terms of art' which he employs in his *Art of English Poesy* has made a similar experiment, though with no remarkable success. Fairfax, author of a curious and in some ways an interesting book, *The Bulk and Selvedge of the World*, has done better. He too would fain by his own example show how very rarely even in subjects of a large range it is necessary to employ any other words than such as are home-growths; that 'moreness,' for example, does its work as well as plurality, 'findings' as inventions. I extract a brief passage from the Introduction, at once for its bearing on the subject which we now have in hand, and also as itself a testimony of the vigorous English which it is possible under such self-imposed limitations to write: 'I think it will become those of us, who have a more hearty love for what is our own, than wanton longings after what is others', to fetch

back some of our own words that have been jostled out in wrong, that worse from elsewhere might be hoisted in; or else to call in from the fields and waters, shops and workhousen, that well fraught world of words that answers works, by which all learners are taught to do, and not to make a clatter.'

This subject on one occasion being under familiar discussion, and one present vaunting the powers of our Anglo-Saxon tongue to produce words of its own which should thus answer any and every want, so that it need never be beholden to any foreign tongue, another put him to the proof, demanding a sufficient native equivalent for 'impenetrability.' 'Unthoroughfaresomeness' was promptly produced. The word may not be a graceful one, but take it to pieces, and you will find nothing wanting to it. For what is impenetrability? It is the quality in one thing which does not allow it to be pierced or passed through by another. And now dissect its proposed equivalent; and first, detaching from it its two prefixes, and affixes as many, you have 'fare' or passage for the body of the word; you have next 'thoroughfare' or place through which there is a passage; by aid of the suffix 'some' you obtain the adjective 'thoroughfaresome,' or affording a passage through; the negative prefix 'un' gives you 'unthoroughfaresome,' the negation of this; and the second suffix 'ness,' 'unthoroughfaresomeness,' or the state which refuses to afford a passage through,—in other words, impenetrability.

We can thus, I think, trace, and not altogether by mere guesswork or at random, some of the paths along which English would have travelled, had it been

left to itself, and to its own natural and orderly development, instead of being forced, by the stress of external circumstances, into paths in part at least altogether new. We can assert with confidence that it would have been no unserviceable, shiftless, nor ignoble tongue ; and this, while we gladly and thankfully acknowledge that it has done still better, being what it is, the language namely in which our English Bible is written, in which Shakespeare and Milton have garnered for the afterworld the rich treasures of their minds.

Let us, before quite dismissing this subject, contemplate two or three points which broadly distinguish English as it is from English as it would then have been. The language, we may be quite sure, would in that case have been more abundantly supplied with inflections than at present it is. It was, as we saw just now, during the period of extreme depression which followed on the Conquest that it stripped itself so bare of these. I do not of course mean to imply that a vast number of inflections would not, according to the universal law of all languages, anyhow have fallen away. But continuing, as it would have done, the language of the Church, the Court, and of literature, it would never have become that mere *torso* which it was, when at length it emerged victorious from its three hundred years of conflict for supremacy on this English soil. We should assuredly have possessed a much more complex grammatical system, probably as complex or nearly as complex as the German possesses at the present day. Foreigners complain even now that English is hard enough to master ; it would assuredly have been much harder

then. There would have been many more distinctions to remember. Our nouns substantive, instead of being all declined in one uniform manner, would have been declined some in one way, some in another; they would probably have had their three genders,—masculine, feminine, and neuter; and have modified according to these the terminations of the adjectives in regimen with them; and very much more of this kind, now dismissed, and on the whole happily dismissed, would have been retained.

The language is infinitely richer now in synonyms than but for this settlement of French and Latin in its midst it would have been—in words, I mean, covering the same, or nearly the same, spaces of meaning. In cases almost innumerable it has what we may call *duplicate* words; there can be very few languages in the world so amply furnished with these. The way it has obtained them is this. It has kept the Saxon word, and superadded to this the Latin, or the French derived from the Latin. Thus we have kept 'heavenly,' but we have added 'celestial;' we have not dismissed 'earthly,' though we have acquired 'terrestrial;' nor 'fiery,' though we have adopted 'igneous;' 'providence' has not put 'foresight' out of use, nor 'flower' 'bloom,' nor 'benediction' 'blessing,' nor 'reign' 'kingdom,' nor 'omnipotent' 'almighty,' nor 'ponderous' 'weighty,' nor 'cordial' 'hearty,' nor 'exonerate' 'unburden,' nor 'lassitude' 'weariness.' I might go on instancing these duplicate words almost without end, but I have dwelt more fully on this matter elsewhere,[1] and here therefore will not urge it more.

Neither can it be said that this abundance is a mere

[1] *Study of Words*, 17th edit. p. 256.

piece of luxury, still less that it is an embarrassment. So far from this, it brings many substantial advantages with it. It gives the opportunity of weaving now a homelier, now a more scholarly tissue of speech, as may seem most advisable for the immediate need. Poetry is evidently a gainer by it, in the wider choice of expressions which it has thus at command, to meet its manifold exigencies, now of rhyme, now of melody, and now of sentiment. And prose is not less a gainer, demanding as it does rhythm and modulation and cadence, though of another kind, quite as urgently as poetry does, and having these much more within reach through this ampler choice of words than otherwise it would have had. Thus most of us have admired in Handel's greatest composition the magnificent effect of those words from the Apocalypse, 'For the Lord God *omnipotent* reigneth.' Now the word which our Translators have here rendered 'omnipotent,' they have everywhere else rendered 'almighty;' but substitute 'almighty' here, and how manifest the loss. What a sublime variation have they found in the possession of this word within their reach.[1]

[1] I only know one in modern times, but he is one whose judgments must always carry great weight, Dr. Guest, who in his *History of English Rhythms* takes a less favourable view of the results of the large importation of French and Latin words into the language:—'The evils resulting from these importations have, I think, been generally underrated in this country. When a language must draw upon its own wealth for a new term, its forms and analogies are kept fresh in the minds of those who so often use them. But with the introduction of foreign terms, not only is the symmetry—the *science*—of the language injured, but its laws are brought less frequently under notice, and are the

These are manifest gains ; but for all this I would not affirm that everything is gain. Thus if our Saxon had never been disturbed, there would certainly have been in the language a far smaller number of what our ancestors called 'inkhorn terms,' the peculiar property of the scholar, not used and not understood by the poor and the illiterate. More words would be what all words ought to be, and once were, 'thought-pictures,' transparent with their own meaning, telling their own story to everybody. Thus if I say that Christ 'sympathizes' with his people, or even if I say, 'has compassion,' I am not sure that every one follows me ; but if I were to say, He 'fellow-feels,' and the word existed not long ago, as 'fellow-feeling' does still, all would understand. 'Redemption' conveys to our poor the vague impression of some great benefit; but 'againbuying' would have conveyed a far more distinct one. 'Middler'—this word also is to be found in Wiclif—would have the same advantage over 'mediator.' Even our Authorized Version, comparatively little as we have to complain of there, would itself not have lost, but gained, if its authors had

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less used, as their application becomes more difficult. If a new word were added to any of the purer languages, such as the Sanscrit, the Greek, or the Welsh, it would soon be the root of numerous offshoots, substantives, adjectives, verbs, &c., all formed according to rule, and modifying the meaning of their root according to well-known analogies. But in a mixed and broken language few or no such consequences follow. The word remains barren and the language is "enriched" like a tree covered over with wreaths taken from the boughs of its neighbour ; which carries a goodly show of foliage and withers beneath the shade.'

been absolutely compelled to use the store of English vocables at their command, if sometimes they had been shut in, so to speak, to these; for instance, if instead of 'celestial bodies and bodies terrestrial,' they had had no choice but to write 'heavenly bodies and bodies earthly' (1 Cor. xv. 40). All would have understood them then; I very much doubt whether all understand them now.

Other advantages too might have followed, if the language had continued all of one piece. Thus in the matter of style, it would not have been so fatally easy for one writing bad English to fancy this bad to be good, as now it is. That worst and most offensive kind of bad English, which disguises poverty of thought, and lack of any real command over the language, by the use of big, hollow, lumbering Latin words, would not have been possible. It is true that on the other hand the opportunities of writing a grand, sustained, stately English would not have been nearly so great, except for the incoming of that multitude of noble words which Latin, the stateliest of all languages, has lent us. Something not very different indeed, not immeasurably remote from Swift's or Dryden's prose, might have existed; but nothing in the least resembling the stately march of Hooker's, of Milton's, or Jeremy Taylor's, or Sir Thomas Browne's. A good style would have been a much less complex matter than now it is; the language would have been an instrument with not so many strings, an organ with fewer pipes and stops, of less compass, with a more limited diapason, wanting many of the grander resonances which it now possesses; but an instrument easier to play on, requiring infinitely less skill; not so

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likely to betray into gross absurdities, nor to make an open show of the incapacity of such as handled it badly.

On the whole, then, while that Norman Conquest, in the disturbing forces which it has exerted on the English language, has no doubt brought with it losses no less than gains, we may boldly affirm that the gains transcend the losses. As so many things have wrought together to make England what she is, as we may trace in our 'rough island-story' so many wonderful ways in which good has been educed from evil, and events the most unpromising have left their blessing behind them, not otherwise has it been here. That which brought down our English tongue from its pride of place, stript it of so much in which it gloried, condemned it, as might have seemed, if not to absolute extinction, yet to serve henceforward as the mere patois of an illiterate race of subject bondsmen and hinds, it was even that very event which in its ultimate consequences wrought out for it merits which it would never else have obtained. So strange in their ultimate issues and results are the ways of Providence with men.

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Rev. R. Brown

LECTURE III.

GAINS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

IT is with good right that we speak of some languages as *living*, of others as *dead*. All languages which are spoken still may be ranged in the first class; for as men will never consent to use a language without more or less modifying it in their use, will never so far suspend all active exertion of their own, as to leave it exactly where they found it, there follows from this that so long as it is thus the utterance of men thinking and acting, it will inevitably show itself alive, and that by many unmistakeable proofs, by growth and misgrowth, by acquisition and loss, by progress and decay. This title therefore of living a spoken language abundantly deserves ; for it is one in which, employed as it is by living men, *vital* energies are still in operation. It is one which is in course of actual evolution ; which, so far as the life that animates it is a healthy one, is appropriating and assimilating what it anywhere finds congenial to itself, multiplying its resources, increasing its wealth ; while at the same time it is casting off useless and cumbersome forms, dismissing from its vocabulary words of which it finds no use, rejecting by a reactive energy the foreign and the heterogeneous, that may for a while

have forced themselves upon it.[1] In the process of all this it may easily make mistakes. In the desire to simplify, it may let go distinctions which were not useless, and which it would have been much better to retain. The acquisitions which it makes are very far from being all gains. It sometimes rejects as worthless, and suffers to die out and disappear, what served for many and most necessary purposes, was most worthy to have lived. So far as it falls into any of these mistakes its life is not healthy; it is not growing richer but poorer; there are here tokens, however remote and slight as yet, of disorganization, decay and ultimate death. But still it lives, and even these misgrowths and malformations, the rejection of this good, the taking up into itself of that bad, these errors are themselves the utterances and evidences of life. A dead language knows nothing of all this. It is dead, because books, and not now any generation of living men, are the guardians of it; and what they guard, they have as little motive as they have power in any way to change. Its course has been run, and it is now equally incapable of gaining and of losing. We may come to know it better ; but in itself it is not, and never can be, other than it was before it ceased from the lips of men. In one sense it is dead, though

[1] Renan (*Les Langues Sémitiques*, p. 411) : Les langues doivent donc être comparées aux êtres vivants de la nature, et non à ce règne immuable où la matière et la forme participent au même caractère de stabilité, où l'accroissement se fait par l'agglomération extérieure, et non par intussusception ; leur vie, comme celle de l'homme et de l'humanité, est un acte d'assimilation intérieure, une circulation non interrompue du dehors au dedans et du dedans au dehors, un *fieri* perpétuel.

in another, if the life which it once lived was a glorious one, it may be more true to say of it that it has put on immortality.

But there is another sense in which languages may be affirmed to be living still. As men in a very real sense live on in their children, so languages, themselves no longer spoken tongues, may yet prolong their existence through other languages to which in dying they have given birth; so that what showed in them as a process of decay, and in one sense was nothing less, may be found in another sense to have been the preparations and beginnings of a new life. Thus Italian, Spanish, French, are daughter tongues in which Latin still lives. But such a birth out of death as theirs is too large a subject to speak of here, nor does it belong to our immediate theme.

Our own is, of course, a living language still. It is therefore gaining and losing. It is a tree in which the vital sap is circulating yet; and as this works, new leaves are continually being put forth by it, old are dying and dropping away. I propose to consider some of the evidences of this life at work in it still. In my present lecture and in that which follows I shall take for my subject, the *sources* from which the English language has enriched its vocabulary, the *periods* at which it has made the chief additions to this, the *character* of the additions which at different periods it has made, and the *motives* which induced it to seek these.

In my first lecture I dwelt with some emphasis on the fact, that the core, the radical constitution of our language, is English; so that, composite or mingled as it is, it is such only in its vocabulary, not in its con-

struction, inflections, or generally its grammatical forms. These are all of one piece; there is indeed no amalgamation possible in these; and whatever of new has come in has been compelled to conform itself to the old. The framework is native; only a part of the filling in is exotic; and of this filling in, of these comparatively more recent accessions, I now propose to speak.

The first great augmentation by foreign words of our Old English vocabulary, and that which in importance has very far exceeded all the others put together, was a consequence, although not an immediate one, of the Battle of Hastings. You will have gathered from what I have said already that I am unable to share in the sentimental regrets over the results of that battle in which Thierry has led the way. With the freest acknowledgment of the miseries entailed for a while on the Saxon race by the Norman Conquest, I can regard that Conquest in no other light than as the making of England; a judgment, it is true, but a judgment and a mercy in one. It was a rough and rude, and yet most necessary discipline, to which the race which for so many hundred years had occupied the English soil was thereby submitted; a great tribulation, yet one not undeserved, and which could not have been spared; so grievously relaxed were all the moral energies of Saxon England at the time of the Conquest, so far had the vigour of those institutions by which alone a nation lives, decayed and departed. God never showed more plainly that He had a great part for England to play in the world's story than when He brought hither that aspiring Norman race. Heavily

as for a while they laid their hand on the subject people, they did at the same time contribute elements absolutely essential to the future greatness and glory of the land which they made their own. It is however only of their contributions in one particular direction that we have now to speak.

Neither can it be said of these that they followed at once. The actual interpenetration of our earlier English with any large amount of French words did not find place till a very much later day. Some French words we find very soon after; but in the main the two streams of language continued for a long while separate and apart, even as the two nations remained aloof from one another, a conquering and a conquered, and neither forgetting the fact. It was not till the middle of the fourteenth century that French words began to find their way in any very large number into English. Then within a period of some fifty years many more effected a permanent settlement among us than had so done during the three hundred years preceding. In the bringing in of these too much has been ascribed to the influence and authority of a single man. Some have praised, others have blamed,[1] Chaucer overmuch for his share in this work. Standing in the forefront of his time, he no doubt fell in with and set forward tendencies in the

[1] Thus Alexander Gil, head-master of St. Paul's School, in his book, *Logonomia Anglica*, 1621, *Preface*: Huc usque peregrinæ voces in linguâ Anglicâ inauditæ. Tandem circa annum 1400 Galfridus Chaucerus, infausto omine, vocabulis Gallicis et Latinis poësin suam famosam reddidit. The whole passage, which is too long to quote, as indeed the whole book, is curious.

language, yet these such, it is plain, as were in active operation already. To assume that the greater number of French vocables which he employed had never been employed before, were strange to English ears, is to assume, as Tyrwhitt urges well, that his poetry presented to his contemporaries a motley patchwork of language, and is quite irreconcilable with the fact that he took his place at once as the popular poet of the nation.[1]

It would be hardly too much to affirm that there is quite as large a proportion of Latin words in *Piers Ploughman* as in Chaucer,—certainly a very remarkable fact, when we call to mind that *Piers Ploughman* dates some twenty or thirty years earlier than Chaucer's more important poems, that in form it abides by the old alliterative scheme of versification, and in substance evidently addresses itself not to the courtier or the churchman, but claims to find, as we know it actually found, its proper audience among the commonalty of the realm. Its religious, ecclesiastical, and ethical terminology is abundant, and with rare exceptions is Latin throughout—which, when we keep in mind the opulence in such terms of the earlier Anglo-Saxon, signally attests the havoc which had been wrought during the centuries of depression in all the finer elements of the language. We meet there with

[1] In his *Testament of Love* he expresses his contempt of Englishmen who would not be content to clothe their thoughts in an English garb: 'Let these clerkes endyten in Latyn, for they have the propertye in science and the knowinge in that facultye, and lette Frenchmen in their Frenche also endyte their queynt termes, for it is kyndly to theyr mouthes; and let us shewe our fantasyes as we learneden of our dames tonge.'

'abstinence,' 'ampulle,' 'assoil,' 'avarice,' 'benigne,' 'bountée,' 'cardinal vertues,' 'conscience,' 'charitée,' 'chastitée,' 'confession,' 'consistory,' 'contemplatif,' 'contrition,' 'indulgence,' 'leautée,' 'mitigation,' 'monial,' 'recreant,' 'relic,' 'reverence,' 'sanctitée,' 'spiritual,' 'temporaltée,' 'unitée.' Already we find in *Piers Ploughman* French words which the English language has finally proved unable, or at any rate has declined, to take up into itself, as 'bienfait,' 'brocage,' 'chibolles,' 'creaunt,' 'devoir,' 'entremetten,' 'fille,' 'losengerie,' 'mestier,' 'pain' (=bread), 'prest' (=prêt). The real difference between Langlande and Chaucer is that Langlande seems to us, as we read, only to have imperfectly fused into one harmonious whole the two elements whereof the language which he writes is composed; while the mightier artist—though he too was no mean one,—has brought them into so perfect a chemical combination, that we never pause to consider from what quarter the ore which he has wrought into such current money was extracted, whether drawn from the old mines of the land, or imported from other new ones, opened beyond the sea. But the *Romance of William of Palerne* supplies evidence more remarkable still. Madden puts 1350, nearly half a century earlier than the *Canterbury Tales*, as about the date of this poem. Here are some of the words which it yields, 'aunter,' 'bacheler,' 'defaute,' 'deraine,' 'digne,' 'duresse,' 'emperice,' 'eritage,' 'facioun,' 'feyntise,' 'hautein,' 'merciabul,' 'mesurabul,' 'paramour,' 'queyntise,' 'scowmfit,' 'travail,' with very many more of like kind.

Other considerations will contend to the abating of the exclusive merit or demerit of Chaucer in this matter.

There were other forces beside literature which at this time were helping to saturate English with as much of French as it could healthily absorb. 'It is,' Marsh says, 'a great but very widely spread error, to suppose that the influx of French words in the fourteenth century was due alone to poetry and other branches of pure literature. The law, which now first became organized into a science, introduced very many terms borrowed from the nomenclature of Latin and French jurisprudence; the glass-worker, the enameller, the architect, the brass-founder, the Flemish clothier, and the other handicraftsmen, whom Norman taste and luxury invited, or domestic oppression expelled from the Continent, brought with them the vocabularies of their respective arts; and Mediterranean commerce—which was stimulated by the demand for English wool, then the finest in Europe—imported, from the harbours of a sea where French was the predominant language, both new articles of merchandize and the French designation of them. The sciences too, medicine, physics, geography, alchemy, astrology, all of which became known to England chiefly through French channels, added numerous specific terms to the existing vocabulary, and very many of the words, first employed in English writings as a part of the technical phraseology of these various arts and knowledges, soon passed into the domain of common life, in modified or untechnical senses, and thus became incorporated into the general tongue of society and of books.'

It is true that there happened here what will happen in every attempt to transplant on a large scale the words of one language into another. The new soil will not prove equally propitious to all. Some will

take root and thrive; but others, after a longer or shorter interval, will pine and wither and die. Not all the words which Langlande or Chaucer employed, and for which they stood sponsors, found final allowance with us. At the same time, such an issue as this was no condemnation of their attempt. Nothing but actual proof could show whether the language needed, and would therefore absorb these; or, not needing would in due time reject them.[1] How little in excess Chaucer in this matter was, how admirable his choice of words, is singularly attested by the fact—I state it on Marsh's authority—that there are not more than a hundred French words used by him, such for example as 'ayel' (aïeul), 'cierge,' 'gipon,' 'hautain,' 'malure' (malheur), 'meubles,' 'misericorde,' 'penible,' 'racine,' 'tas,' which have failed to win a permanent place among us. I cannot say how many *Piers Ploughman* would yield, but we saw just now that it would yield several; and Gower in like manner—such, for example, as 'feblesse,' 'mestier,' 'pelerinage,' 'tristesse.' Wiclif would furnish a few, as for instance, 'creansur,' 'roue,' 'umbre;' though far fewer than either of those other; for indeed the non-English element in him, which the

[1] Plautus in the same way uses a multitude of Greek words, which Latin did not want, and therefore refused to absorb; thus, 'clepta,' 'zamia,' 'danista,' 'harpagare,' 'apolactizare,' 'nauclerus,' 'strategus,' 'drapeta,' 'morus,' 'morologus,' 'phylaca,' 'malacus,' 'sycophantia,' 'euscheme' (εὐσχήμως), 'dulice' (δουλικῶς), [so 'scymnus' by Lucretius], none of which, I believe, are employed except by him; while others, as 'mastigia' and 'techna,' he shares with Terence. Yet only experience could show that they were superfluous; and it was well done to put them on trial.

language has finally refused to take up, consists not so much of French, as of words which, by him drawn directly from his Latin Vulgate, had been never shaped or moulded in their passage through any intermediate language. Of these the necessities, or if not the necessities, yet the difficulties, of the case drove him to employ not a few, as 'amphor,' 'architryclyn,' 'argentarie,' 'bilibre,' 'cultre,' 'cyconye,' 'diversory,' 'eruk' (eruca), 'jument,' 'lacert,' 'margarite,' 'platan,' 'proterve,' 'sambuke,' 'scrabroun,' 'signacle,' 'simulacre,' 'sindon,' 'spelunc,' 'sudarie,' 'tymiame,' 'vinolent,' 'volatil' (= bird), and others; which one and all have wholly refused to take root.[1]

It is curious to observe to how late a day some of those adoptions from the French kept their ground; which, for all this, they have proved unable to keep to the end. Thus 'mel' (Sylvester) struggled hard and long for a place side by side with honey; 'roy' with king; this last quite obtaining one in the northern dialect, or, as we call it, the Scotch. It has fared not otherwise with 'aigredulce' (=soursweet), 'baine,' 'baston,' 'to cass,' 'dulce,' 'ecurie,' 'gite,' 'livraison,' 'mot,' 'mur,' 'ouvert,' 'pourprise,' 'sacre,' 'scantillon,' 'siffling' (all in Holland); with 'accoil' (= accueillir), 'duress,' 'conge,' 'foi,' 'gree' (gré), 'jouissance,' 'noblesse,' 'rivage,' 'sell' (=saddle), 'spalles' (=épaules), 'surquedry,' 'tort' (all occurring in Spenser); with 'orgule' (Sir T. Malory) and 'outrecuidance;' and so too with 'brocage,' 'reglement,' 'to serr' (serrer), 'vive' (used all by Bacon); with 'amort,' 'bruit,' 'egal,' 'esperance,' 'rondeur,' 'scrimer,' 'sans' (all in Shake-

[1] Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. i. p. 74.

speare). 'Clinquant' (not jingling as Richardson has it, but glistering), 'devoir,' 'dimes,' 'puissance;' 'aveugle,' 'colline' (both in *State Papers*), 'defaillance' (J. Taylor), 'to eloign,' 'pantoffle' (Stubbs), 'medisance' (Montagu), 'pareil,' 'paysage' (J. Taylor), 'petit' (South), 'plaisance' (J. Taylor), 'pucelle' (Ben Jonson), 'volunty' (Evelyn), 'volupty' (Sir T. Elyot), with others more than I can enumerate here, were English once, though most of them can scarcely now be so called.

But to return. With Chaucer English literature had made a burst, which it was not able to maintain. Dreary days were before it still. Our morning star, he yet ushered in no dawn which was at the point of breaking. Chaucer has by Warton been well compared to some warm bright day in the very early spring, which seems to announce that the winter is over and gone; but its promise is deceitful; the full bursting and blossoming of the spring-time is yet far off. The long struggle with France, the hundred years' War, which began so gloriously, but which ended so disastrously, even with the loss of our whole ill-won dominion there, the savagery of our wars of the Roses, wars which were a legacy bequeathed to us by that unrighteous conquest, leave a huge gap in our literary history, nearly a century during which very little was done for the cultivation of our native tongue, few important additions to its wealth were made.

The period, however, is notable as that during which for the first time we received a large accession of words directly drawn from the Latin. A small settlement of these, for the most part ecclesiastical, had long since found their home in the bosom of the Anglo-Saxon itself, and had been entirely incorporated

with it. The fact that we had received our Christianity from Rome, and that Latin was the constant language of the Church, sufficiently accounts for these. Such were 'monk,' 'bishop' (it was not as Greek but as Latin that these words reached us), 'priest,' 'provost,' 'minster,' 'cloister,' 'candle,' 'devil,' 'psalter,' 'mass,' and the names of certain foreign animals, as 'camel,' 'lion,' or plants or other productions, as 'lily,' 'pepper,' 'fig;' which are all, with slightly different spelling, words whose naturalization in England reaches back to a period anterior to the Conquest.[1] These, however, were exceptional, and stood to the main body of the language, not as the Romance element of it does now to the Teutonic, one power over against another, but as the Spanish or Italian or Arabic words in it stand to the remainder of the language, and could not be affirmed to modify it more.

So soon, however, as French words were brought largely into it, and were found to coalesce kindly with the native growths, this very speedily suggested the going straight to the Latin, and drawing directly from it; and thus in the hundred years after Chaucer no small amount of Latin had penetrated, if not into our speech, yet into our books—words not introduced *through* the French, for they are not, and some of them have at no time been, French; but yet such as would never have established themselves here, if the French, already domesticated among us, had not prepared their way, bridged over the gulf that would have

[1] Guest, *Hist. of English Rhythms*, vol. ii. p. 109; Koch, *Hist. Gramm. der Engl. Sprache*, vol. i. p. 5.

otherwise been too wide between them and the Saxon vocables of our tongue; and suggested the models on which these later adoptions should be framed.

They were not for the most part words which it was any gain to acquire. The period was one of great depression of the national spirit; and nothing sympathizes more intimately with this, rising when it rises, and sinking when it sinks, than does language. Not for the first time at the Revival of Learning, but already at this time began the attempt to flood our English with pedantic words from the Latin. Take as specimens of these 'facundious,' 'tenebrous,' 'solacious,' 'pulcritude,' 'consuetude' (all these occur in Hawes), with a multitude more of the same fashion which the language has long since disallowed; while others which have maintained their ground, and have deserved to maintain it, were yet employed in numbers quite out of proportion to the native vocables with which they were mingled, and which they altogether overtopped and overshadowed. Chaucer's hearty English feeling, his thorough sympathy with the people, the fact that, scholar as he was, he was yet the poet not of books but of life, and drew his best inspiration from life, all this had kept him, in the main, clear of this fault. But it was otherwise with those who followed. The diction of Lydgate, Hawes, and the other verse-writers,—for to the title of poets they have little or no claim,—who filled up the interval between Chaucer and Surrey, is immensely inferior to his; being all stuck over with long and often ill-selected Latin words. The worst offenders in this line, as Campbell himself admits, were the Scotch poets of the fifteenth century. 'The prevailing

fault,' he says, 'of English diction, in the fifteenth century, is redundant ornament, and an affectation of anglicising Latin words. In this pedantry and use of "aureate terms" the Scottish versifiers went even beyond their brethren of the south. . . . . When they meant to be eloquent, they tore up words from the Latin, which never took root in the language, like children making a mock garden with flowers and branches stuck in the ground, which speedily wither.'[1] It needs but to turn over a few pages of the Scotch poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth century to find proofs abundant of this; although happily very few of these foreign adoptions remained as permanent elements of the language. Thus I do not remember to have met 'to offusk,' 'to resplend,' 'agrest,' 'amene,' 'facund,' 'lascive,' 'mansuete,' 'preclair,' 'venust' in any writer on this side of the Tweed; all which, with many more of like kind, may be found in Sibbald's *Glossary*, or Murray's *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland.*

This tendency to latinize our speech received a new impulse from the Revival of Learning, and the familiar re-acquaintance with the masterpieces of ancient literature which went along with this Revival. Happily another movement followed hard on this; a movement in England essentially national; and one which stirred our people at far deeper depths of their moral and spiritual life than any mere revival of learning could have ever done: I refer, of course, to the Reformation. It was only among the Germanic nations of Europe, as has often been remarked, that the Reformation

[1] *Essay on English Poetry*, p. 93.

struck lasting roots; it found its strength therefore in the Teutonic element of the national character, which also it in turn further strengthened, purified, and called out. And thus, though Latin came in upon us now faster than ever, and to a certain extent also Greek, yet this found redress and counterpoise in the contemporaneous unfolding of the more radically popular side of the language. Popular preaching and discussion, the necessity of dealing with truths the most transcendant in a way to be understood not by scholars only, but by 'idiots' as well, all this served to evoke the native resources of our tongue; and thus the relative proportion between the one part of the language and the other was not dangerously disturbed, the balance was not destroyed; as it might easily have been, if only the Humanists had been at work, and not the Reformers as well.

The revival of learning, which made itself first felt in Italy, extended to England, and was operative here, during the reigns of Henry the Eighth and his immediate successors. Having thus slightly anticipated in time, it afterwards ran exactly parallel with, the period during which our Reformation was working itself out. The epoch was in all respects one of immense mental and moral activity, and such epochs never leave a language where they found it. Much in it is changed; much probably added; for the old garment of speech, which once served all needs, has grown too narrow, and will serve them now no more. The old crust is broken up, and what was obscurely working before forces itself into sight and recognition. 'Change in language is not, as in many natural products, continuous; it is not equable, but eminently by fits and

starts;' and when the foundations of the mind of a nation are heaving under the operation of ideas which it is now for the first time making its own, more important changes will follow in fifty years than in two centuries of calmer or more stagnant existence. Thus the activities and energies which the Reformation awakened among us, as they made themselves felt far beyond the domain of our directly religious life, so they did not fail to make themselves effectually felt in this region of language among the rest.[1]

The Reformation indeed had a scholarly, we might say a scholastic, as well as a popular aspect. Add this fact to that of the revived interest in classical

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[1] Some lines of Waller reveal to us the sense which in his time scholars had of the rapidity with which the language was changing under their hands. Looking back at changes which the last hundred years had wrought in it, he checked with misgivings such as these his own hope of immortality:—

'Who can hope his lines should long
Last in a daily changing tongue?
While they are new, envy prevails,
And as that dies, our language fails.
. . . . . .
'Poets that lasting marble seek
Must carve in Latin or in Greek:
We write in sand; our language grows,
And like the tide our work o'erflows.'

How his misgivings, which assume that the rate of change would continue what it had been, have been fulfilled, every one knows. The two centuries which have elapsed since he wrote, have hardly antiquated a word or a phrase in his poems. If we care very little for them now, this is owing to quite other causes—to their want of moral earnestness more than to any other.

learning, and you will not wonder that a stream of Latin, now larger than ever, began to flow into our language; so large that Sir Thomas Browne could not forbear observing, 'We shall within a few years be fain to learn Latin to understand English.' Thus Puttenham, writing in Queen Elizabeth's reign,[1] gives a long list of words, some Greek, a few French and Italian, but far the most Latin, which, as he affirms, were of quite recent introduction into the language. He may here and there mistake about some single word, but what he asserts in the main is correct. And yet some of these it is difficult to understand how the language could so long have done without; as 'compendious,' 'delineation,' 'dimension,' 'figurative,' 'function,' 'idiom,' 'impression,' 'indignity,' 'inveigle,' 'method,' 'methodical,' 'metrical,' 'numerous,' 'penetrable,' 'penetrate,' 'prolix,' 'savage,' 'scientific,' 'significative.' All these he adduces with praise. Others, not less commended by him, have failed to hold their ground, as 'harmonical,' 'numerosity,' 'placation.' In his disallowance of 'attemptat' (attentat), 'facundity,' 'implete,' he only anticipated the verdict of a later day. Other words which he condemned no less, as 'audacious,' 'compatible,' 'egregious,' have maintained their place. These have done the same: 'despicable,' 'destructive,' 'homicide,' 'obsequious,' 'ponderous,' 'portentous,' 'prodigious;' all of them by a somewhat earlier writer, in a book of date 1577, condemned as 'inkhorn terms, smelling too much of the Latin.'

[1] In his *Art of English Poesy*, London, 1589, republished in Haslewood's *Ancient Critical Essays upon English Poets and Poesy*, London, 1811, vol. i. pp. 122, 123.

It is curious to note the 'words of art,' as he calls them, which Philemon Holland, a voluminous translator at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, counts it needful to explain in a glossary appended to his translation of Pliny's *Natural History*.[1] One can hardly understand how any who cared to consult the book at all would be perplexed by words like these : 'acrimony,' 'austere,' 'bulb,' 'consolidate,' 'debility,' 'dose,' 'ingredient,' 'opiate,' 'propitious,' 'symptom,' all of which as novelties he carefully explains. Certainly he has words in his glossary harder and more technical than these, but a vast majority present no more serious difficulty than those just adduced.[2] The Rhemish Bible,

[1] London, 1601. Besides this work Philemon Holland translated the whole of Plutarch's *Moralia*, the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, Livy, Suetonius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Camden's *Britannia*. Fuller, who has a brief notice of him among the *Worthies* of Warwickshire, calls him 'Translator General of his age.' His works make a part of the 'library of dulness' in Pope's *Dunciad* :—

> 'De Lyra there a dreadful front extends,
> And here the groaning shelves *Philemon* bends'—

but very unjustly ; and Southey shows a far juster estimate of his merits, when he finds room for two of these, Plutarch's *Moralia* and Pliny's *Natural History*, in the select library of *The Doctor*. The works which Holland has translated are all more or less important, and his versions of them a mine of genuine idiomatic English, neglected by most of our lexicographers, wrought with eminent advantage by Richardson ; but capable of yielding much more than thus far they have yielded. In Marsh's *Origin and History of the English Language*, p. 554, there is an honourable testimony to the large debt which it owes to these books of Philemon Holland.

[2] So too in French it is surprising to find how new are many

published in 1582, has a table consisting of fifty-five terms 'not familiar to the vulgar reader;' among which are 'acquisition,' 'advent,' 'allegory,' 'co-operate,' 'evangelize,' 'eunuch,' 'holocaust,' 'neophyte,' 're-

words, which now constitute an integral part of the language. 'Bravoure,' 'désintéressement,' 'exactitude,' 'sagacité,' were not introduced till late in the seventeenth century. 'Désagrément,' 'emportement,' 'indélébile,' 'sçavoir-faire,' 'renaissance,' were all recent in 1675 (Bouhours); 'impardonnable,' 'indévot,' 'intolérance,' 'irréligieux,' were struggling into allowance at the end of the seventeenth century, and not established till the beginning of the eighteenth. 'Insidieux' was invented by Malherbe; 'frivolité' is wanting in the earlier editions of the *Dictionary of the Academy*; the Abbé de St.-Pierre was the first to employ 'bienfaisance,' the elder Balzac 'féliciter,' Sarrasin 'burlesque,' Rousseau 'investigation' (see *Guesses at Truth*, 1866, p. 220), the Abbé de Pons 'érudit.' Mme. de Sévigné exclaims against her daughter for employing 'effervescence' (comment dites-vous cela, ma fille? Voilà un mot dont je n'avais jamais ouï parler). 'Démagogue' was first hazarded by Bossuet, and counted so bold a novelty that for long none ventured to follow him in its use. Montaigne introduced 'diversion' and 'enfantillage,' the last not without rebuke from contemporaries. It is a singularly characteristic fact, if he invented, as he is said to have done, 'enjoué.' Desfontaines first employed 'suicide;' Caron gave to the language 'avantpropos,' Ronsard 'avidité,' Joachim Dubellay 'patrie,' Denis Sauvage 'jurisconsulte,' Ménage 'gracieux' (at least so Voltaire affirms) and 'prosateur,' Desportes 'pudeur,' Chapelaine 'urbanité,' Mme. Dacier 'hospitalier,' while Étienne first brought in, apologizing at the same time for the boldness of it, 'analogie' (si les oreilles françoises peuvent porter ce mot). 'Accaparer' first appeared in the *Dictionary of the Academy* in 1787; 'préliber' (prælibare) is a word of our own day; and Charles Nodier, if he did not coin, yet revived the obsolete 'simplesse.'—See Génin, *Variations du Langage français*, pp. 308–319.

suscitate,' 'victim.' More than one of these was denounced by the assailants of this Version, as for instance by our own Translators, who say in their *Preface*, 'We have shunned the obscurity of the Papists in the azims, tunicke, rational, holocausts, prepuce, pasche, and a number of such-like, whereof their late translation is full.' It is curious that three out of the six which they here denounce by name should have kept their place in the language.

The period during which this naturalization of Latin words was going actively forward, extended to the Restoration of Charles II., and beyond it. It first received a check from the coming up of French tastes, fashions, and habits of thought consequent on that event. The writers whose style was already formed, such as Cudworth and Barrow, continued still to write their stately sentences, Latin in structure, and Latin in diction, but not so those of a younger generation. We may say of this influx of Latin that it left the language vastly more copious, with greatly enlarged capabilities, but somewhat burdened with its new acquisitions, and not always able to move gracefully under their load; for, as Dryden has happily said, it is easy enough to acquire foreign words, but to know what to do with them after you have acquired, is the difficulty.

Few, let me here observe by the way, have borne themselves in this hazardous enterprise at once as discreetly and as boldly as Dryden himself has done; who has thus admirably laid down the motives which induced him to look abroad for words with which to enrich his vocabulary, and the principles which guided him in the selection of such: 'If sounding words

are not of our growth and manufacture, who shall hinder me to import them from a foreign country? I carry not out the treasure of the nation which is never to return, but what I bring from Italy I spend in England. Here it remains and here it circulates, for, if the coin be good, it will pass from one hand to another. I trade both with the living and the dead, for the enrichment of our native language. We have enough in England to supply our necessity, but if we will have things of magnificence and splendour, we must get them by commerce. Poetry requires adornment, and that is not to be had from our old Teuton monosyllables; therefore if I find any elegant word in a classic author, I propose it to be naturalized by using it myself; and if the public approves of it, the bill passes. But every man cannot distinguish betwixt pedantry and poetry: every man therefore is not fit to innovate. Upon the whole matter a poet must first be certain that the word he would introduce is beautiful in the Latin; and is to consider in the next place whether it will agree with the English idiom; after this, he ought to take the opinion of judicious friends, such as are learned in both languages; and lastly, since no man is infallible, let him use this licence very sparingly; for if too many foreign words are poured in upon us, it looks as if they were designed not to assist the natives, but to conquer them.'[1]

[1] *Dedication of the Translation of the Æneid.* I cannot say that I have observed very many of these words there. 'Irremeable' (*Æn.* vi. 575) is the only one which I could at once adduce. On this matter a modern French writer has expressed himself well: Celui qui l'essaye [le néologisme] doit pouvoir

It would indeed have fared ill with the language, if *all* the words which the great writers of this second Latin period proposed as candidates for admission into it, had received the stamp of popular allowance. But happily this was not the case. The re-active energy of the language, enabling it to throw off that which was foreign to it, did not fail to display itself now, as it had done on former occasions; nor is it too much to affirm that in almost every instance during this period, where the Alien Act was enforced, the sentence of exclusion was a just one. Either the word violated the analogy of the language, or was not intelligible, or was not needed, or looked ill, or sounded ill; or some other valid reason existed for its exclusion. A lover of his native tongue might well tremble to think what this tongue would have become, if all the innumerable vocables introduced or endorsed by illustrious names had been admitted to a free course among us on the strength of their recommendation: if 'torve' and 'tetric' (Fuller), 'cecity' (Hooker), 'fastide' and 'trutinate' (*State Papers*), 'immanity' (Shakespeare), 'insulse' and 'insulsity' (Milton, prose), 'scelestick' (Feltham), 'splendidious' (Drayton), 'pervicacy' (Baxter), 'stramineous,' 'ardelion' (Burton), 'lepid,' 'sufflaminate' (Barrow), 'faci-

justifier la liberté qu'il a prise avec la langue. Autrement dit, il faut que le mot soit nécessaire dans la circonstance donnée, qu'il soit l'expression la plus nette ou la plus forte de l'idée à représenter. A cette condition, il sera pardonné; bien plus il méritera de durer et durera: c'est par des audaces de ce genre que nos grands écrivains ont enrichi la langue Darmesteter, *De la Création actuelle de Mots nouveaux dans la Langue française.* Paris, 1877, p. 33).

norous' (Donne), 'immorigerous,' 'funest,' 'clanculary,' 'ferity,' 'ustulation,' 'stultiloquy,' 'lipothymy' (λειποθυμία), 'hyperaspist,' 'deturpate,' 'intenerate,' 'effigiate' (all in Jeremy Taylor); if 'formosity' (John Davies), if 'mulierosity,' 'subsannation,' 'coaxation,' 'ludibundness,' 'delinition,' 'illaqueation,' 'colluctation,' 'sanguinolency,' 'septemfluous,' 'medioxumous,' 'mirificent,' 'palmiferous' (all in Henry More), 'pauciloquy,' 'multiloquy' (Beaumont, *Psyche*); if 'dyscolous' (Foxe), 'ataraxy' (Allestree), 'moliminously' (Cudworth), 'luciferously,' 'meticulous,' 'lapidifical,' 'exenteration,' 'farraginous' (Sir Thomas Browne), 'immarcescible' (Bishop Hall), 'exility,' 'spinosity,' 'incolumity,' 'solertiousness,' 'lucripetous,' 'inopious,' 'eximious,' 'eluctate' (all in Hacket), 'arride' (ridiculed by Ben Jonson), with hundreds of other births, as monstrous or more monstrous than are some of these, had not been rejected and disallowed by the sound linguistic instincts of the national mind.

Many words too *were* actually adopted, but not precisely as they had been first introduced among us. They were compelled to drop their foreign termination, or whatever else indicated them as strangers, to conform themselves to English ways, and only thus were finally incorporated into the great family of English.[1] Thus of Greek words take the following: 'pyramis' and 'pyramides,' forms both employed by Shakespeare ('pyramises' in Jeremy Taylor), became

[1] J. Grimm (*Wörterbuch*, p. xxvi.): Fällt von ungefähr ein fremdes Wort in den Brunnen einer Sprache, so wird es so lange darin umgetrieben, bis es ihre Farbe annimmt, und seiner fremden Art zum Trotze wie ein heimisches aussieht.

'pyramid' and 'pyramids;' 'dosis' (Bacon) 'dose;'[1] 'aspis' (Latimer) 'asp;' 'distichon' (Holland) 'distich,' 'aristocratia' and 'democratia' (North) 'aristocracy' and 'democracy;' 'ochlocratia' (Grimeston's *Polybius*) 'ochlocracy;' 'symmetria' (Stowe) 'symmetry;' 'hemistichion' (North) 'hemistich;' 'apogæon' (Fairfax), or 'apogeum' (Browne), 'apogee;' 'sumphonia' (Lodge) 'symphony;' 'myrrha' (Golding) 'myrrh;' 'prototypon' (Jackson) 'prototype;' 'synonymon' (Jeremy Taylor) or 'synonymum' (Hacket), and 'synonyma' (Milton, prose), became severally 'synonym' and 'synonyms;' 'parallelon' (North) 'parallel;' 'heliotropion' (Green) or 'heliotropium' (Holland) 'heliotrope.' So too 'syntaxis' (Fuller) became 'syntax;' 'extasis' (Burton) 'ecstasy;' 'parallelogrammon' (Holland) 'parallelogram;' 'hypotenusa' (the same) 'hypotenuse;' 'programma' (Warton) 'program;' 'epitheton' (Cowell) 'epithet;' 'epocha' (South) and 'epoche' 'epoch;' 'magnes' (Sir P. Sidney) 'magnet;' 'disenteria' and 'epilepsis' (both in Sylvester) 'dysentery' and 'epilepsy;' 'biographia' (Dryden) 'biography;' 'apostata' (Massinger) 'apostate;' 'despota' (Foxe) 'despot;' 'misanthropos' (Shakespeare, compare 'misanthropi,' Bacon) 'misanthrope;' 'psalterion' (North) 'psaltery;' 'idylion' (Spenser), or 'idyllium' (Dryden), 'idyl;' 'ostracismos' (North) 'ostracism;' εὐφημισμός (Jeremy Taylor) 'euphemism;' 'chasma' (Henry More) 'chasm;' 'autopsia' (the same) 'autopsy;'

[1] 'Dosis' is current somewhat later. Thus in Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans*:—

Sorrows in white; griefs tuned; a sugared *dosis*
Of wormwood; and a death's head crowned with roses.

'amnestia' (Howell) 'amnesty;' 'idioma' and 'prosodia' (both in Daniel) 'idiom' and 'prosody;' 'energia' (Sidney) 'energy;' 'Sibylla' (Bacon) 'Sibyl;' 'zoophyton' (Henry More) 'zoophyte;' 'enthousiasmos' (Sylvester) 'enthusiasm;' 'phantasma' (Shakespeare) 'phantasm;' 'paraphrasis' (Ascham) 'paraphrase;' 'diaphragma' (Florio) 'diaphragm;' 'cynosura' (Donne) 'cynosure;' 'galaxias' (Foxe) 'galaxy;' 'heros' (Henry More) 'hero;' 'ephemera' (Bacon) 'ephemerals.'

The same process has gone on in a multitude of Latin words, which testify by their terminations that they were, and were felt to be, Latin at their first employment; though now they are such no longer. It will be seen that in this list I include Greek words which came to us through the medium of the Latin, and bearing a Latin termination. Thus Bacon has 'insecta' for 'insects;' 'æquinoctia' for 'equinoxes;' 'chylus' for 'chyle;' Elyot 'intellectus' for 'intellect;' Coverdale 'tetrarcha' for 'tetrarch;' Latimer 'basiliscus' for 'basilisk;' Frith 'syllogismus' for 'syllogism;' Bishop Andrewes 'nardus' for 'nard;' Milton 'asphaltus' for 'asphalt,' 'amaranthus' for 'amaranth;' Lord Shaftesbury 'rhythmus' for 'rhythm;' Clarendon 'classis' for 'class;' Spenser 'zephyrus' for 'zephyr.' So too 'epitaphium' (Trevisa) preceded 'epitaph;' 'cystis' 'cyst,' 'interstitium' (Fuller) 'interstice;' 'philtrum' (Culverwell) 'philtre;' 'depositum' (Howe) 'deposit;' 'prædicatum' 'predicate;' 'subjectum' 'subject' (both in North); 'mandatum' (Holinshed) 'mandate;' 'hexametrum' (Ascham) 'hexameter;' 'expansum' (Jeremy Taylor) 'expanse;' 'vestigium' (Culverwell) 'vestige;' 'pre-

ludium' (Beaumont, *Psyche*) 'prelude;' 'precipitium' (Coryat) 'precipice;' 'aconitum' and 'balsamum' (both in Shakespeare) 'aconite' and 'balsam;' 'helleborum' (North) 'hellebore;' 'vehiculum' (Howe) 'vehicle;' 'trochæus' and 'spondæus' (Holland) 'trochee' and 'spondee;' 'dactylus' (Ascham) 'dactyle;' 'trophæum' (Holland) 'trophy;' 'transitus' (Howe) 'transit;' 'cuspis' (Henry More) 'cusp;' and 'machina' (the same) 'machine.' We meet 'intervallum' in Shakespeare, and 'intervalla' in Chillingworth; 'postulata,' not 'postulates,' in Swift; 'archiva,' not 'archives,' in Baxter; 'postscripta,' not 'postscripts,' in *State Papers*; 'atomi,' not 'atoms,' in Lord Brooke; 'adulti,' not 'adults,' in Rogers; 'plebeii,' not 'plebeians,' in Shakespeare; 'catechumeni,' not 'catechumens,' in Jewel; 'hermaphroditi,' not 'hermaphrodites,' in Stubbs; 'helotæ,' not 'helots,' in Holland; 'ascetæ,' not 'ascetics,' in Hammond; 'fauni,' not 'fauns,' in Browne's *Pastorals*; 'triumviri,' not 'triumvirs,' and 'ephori,' not 'ephors,' in North; 'demagogi,' not 'demagogues,' in Hacket; 'elegi,' not 'elegies,' 'rhythmi,' not 'rhythms,' 'pigmæi,' not 'pigmies,' all in Holland; 'cryptæ,' not 'crypts,' in our *Homilies*; 'pantomimus' in Lord Bacon and Ben Jonson for 'pantomime;' 'mystagogus' for 'mystagogue,' in Jackson and Henry More. In like manner, 'ædilis' (North) went before 'edile;' 'obeliscus' (the same) before 'obelisk;' 'ductus' (Kersey) before 'duct;' 'effigies' and 'statua' (both in Shakespeare) before 'effigy' and 'statue;' 'abyssus' (Jackson) before 'abyss;' 'commentarius' (Chapman) before 'commentary;' 'commentum' (Henry More) before 'comment;' 'vestibulum' (Howe) before 'vestibule;'

'symbolum' (Hammond) before 'symbol;' 'spectrum' (Burton) before 'spectre;' while only after a while 'quære' gave place to 'query;' 'audite' (Hacket) to 'audit;' 'plaudite' (Henry More) to 'plaudit;' 'remanent' (*Paston Letters*) to 'remnant;' and the Low Latin 'mummia' (Webster) became 'mummy;' and 'camphora' (Spenser) 'camphor.' The change of 'innocency,' 'indolency,' 'temperancy,' and the large group of words with the same termination, severally into 'innocence,' 'indolence,' 'temperance,' and the like, is another specimen of the same process of completed naturalization.

Nor is it unprofitable to note how slowly the names of persons, things, and countries drop their Greek or Latin, and assume an English form, as little by little our literature familiarizes itself with the old Greek and Roman world. Aristotle indeed had so lived through the Middle Ages that we nowhere find his name in any save this popular shape; but Ascham speaks of 'Hesiodus,' Holland of 'Euclides,' Bacon of 'Sallustius,' of 'Appianus,' of 'Livius,' Baxter of 'Plinius,' Milton of 'Pindarus,' and this both in prose and verse; Coverdale of 'Hilarius' and 'Cyprianus;' Jewel of certain philosophers called 'Epicuræi,' of 'Julianus Apostata.' When Christopher Brooke wrote, the 'Argonauts' were 'Argonautæ' still. We read in Chapman of the 'Ajaces,' in Spenser of the 'Ilias' and 'Odysseis,' and in Dryden, though not invariably, of the 'Æneis.' It is the same with places and countries. North writes 'Academia,' 'Antiochia,' 'Creta,' 'Hellespontus,' 'Syracusæ,' 'Troia,' 'the sea Atlanticum,' 'the sea Euxinum,' 'the mountains Pyrenei;' Ascham 'Sicilia;' Bacon 'Thracia;' Milton 'Danubius;' Coverdale 'Nilus;'

Holland 'Tiberis;' while our English Bible has 'Grecia,' 'Palestina,' and 'Tyrus.'

The plural very often tells the secret of the foreign light in which a word is still regarded, where the singular, being less capable of modification, would have failed to do this. Thus when Holland writes 'archontes,' 'bisontes,' 'boæ,' 'chori,' 'ibides,' 'ideæ,' 'musæa,' 'phalanges,' 'sphinges,' it is clear that 'archon,' 'bison,' 'boa,' 'chorus,' 'ibis,' 'idea,' 'museum,' 'phalanx,' 'sphinx,' had in no sense become English for him. So too 'rhinoceros' was Greek for Purchas, writing as he does 'rhinocerotes' in the plural; 'automaton' for Glanville when he employed 'automata' for the plural; 'dogma' was such for Hammond, and 'enigma' for John Smith of Cambridge, when they made 'dogmata' and 'enigmata' severally the plurals of these. Spenser, using 'heroës' as a trisyllable,[1] plainly implies that it is not yet thoroughly English for him; indeed, as we have just seen, the singular was 'heros' half a century later. So too, when 'dæmones' is for Green trisyllabic, we argue the same of 'demone.' 'Cento' is no English word so long as the plural is not 'centos,' but 'centones,' as in the old anonymous translation of Augustine's *City of God*; 'specimen' in like manner is Latin, so long as it owns for plural 'specimina' (Howe); so too 'asylum' while its plural is 'asyla,' as in Clarendon, and indeed as late as in Milman, it is. Pope employing 'satellites' as a quadrisyllable—

'Why Jove's *satellites* are less than Jove'—

[1] 'And old *heroës*, which their world did daunt.'
Sonnet on Scanderbeg.

intimates that it is still Latin for him; just as 'terminus,' which the necessities of railways have introduced among us, will not be truly naturalized till it has 'terminuses,' and not 'termini,' for a plural; nor 'phenomenon,' till we have renounced 'phenomena;' nor 'crisis,' while it makes 'crises;' nor 'fungus,' until the question is determined whether its plural is 'fungi' or 'funguses,' and in favour of the latter. Sometimes both plurals have been retained, with only the assignment of different meanings to them, as in the case of 'indices' and 'indexes,' of 'genii' and 'geniuses,' of 'stamina' and 'stamens' (botanical).

The same process has gone on with words from other languages, as from the Italian and the Spanish; thus 'bandetto' (Shakespeare), or 'bandito' (Jeremy Taylor), becomes 'bandit;' 'ciarlatano' (Coryat) 'charlatan;' 'chocolata' (Antony Wood) 'chocolate,' 'porcellana' (Fuller) becomes 'porcelain;' 'ruffiano' (Coryat) 'ruffian;' 'concerto' 'concert;' 'busto' (Lord Chesterfield) 'bust;' 'caricatura' (the same) 'caricature;' 'princessa' (Hacket) 'princess;' 'scaramucha' (Dryden) 'scaramouch;' 'pedante' (Bacon) 'pedant;' 'pedanteria' (Sidney) 'pedantry;' 'mascarata' (Hacket) 'masquerade;' 'grotesco' (Pope) 'grotesque;' 'impresa' 'impress;' 'capriccio' (Shakespeare) becomes first 'caprich' (Butler), then 'caprice;' 'duello' (Shakespeare) 'duel;' 'alligarta' (Ben Jonson) 'alligator;' 'parroquito' (Webster) 'parroquet.' Not otherwise 'scalada' (Heylin) or 'escalado' (Holland) becomes 'escalade;' 'granada' (Hacket) 'grenade;' 'parada' (Jeremy Taylor) 'parade;' 'emboscado' (Holland), 'stoccado,' 'barricado,'

'renegado,' 'hurricano' (all in Shakespeare), 'brocado' (Hackluyt), 'palissado' (Howel), these all drop their foreign terminations and severally become 'ambuscade,' 'stockade,' 'barricade,' 'renegade,' 'hurricane,' 'brocade,' 'palisade;' 'croisado' (Bacon) in like manner becomes 'crusado' (Fuller), 'croisade' (Jortin), and then 'crusade;' 'quinaquina' or 'quinquina,' 'quinine.' Other modifications of spelling, not always in the termination, but in the body of a word, will indicate its more entire incorporation into the English language. Thus 'shash,' a Turkish word, becomes 'sash;' 'tulippa' (Bacon) 'tulip;' 'quelques choses' 'kickshaws;' 'pultis' (Fuller) 'poultice.' 'Restoration' was at first spelt 'restauration;' and so long as 'vicinage' was spelt 'voisinage'[1] (Sanderson), 'mirror' 'miroir' (Fuller), 'recoil' 'recule,' 'voyage' 'viage,' and 'career' 'carriere' (all by Holland), they could scarcely be esteemed the thoroughly English words which now they have become.

Here and there even at this later period awkward foreign words will have been recast in a more thoroughly English mould; 'chirurgeon,' used as late as by South, will become 'surgeon;' 'hemorrhoid' 'emerod;' 'squinancy,' first 'squinzey' (Jeremy Taylor), and then 'quinsey;' 'porkpisce' (Spenser) will be 'porpesse,' and then 'porpoise' as now. Yet the attempt will not always be successful. 'Physiognomy' will not give place to 'visnomy,' though Spenser and Shakespeare employ this familiar form;

[1] Skinner (*Etymologicon*, 1671) protests against the word altogether, as purely French, and having no right to be considered English at all.

nor 'hippopotamus' to 'hippodame' at Spenser's bidding; nor 'avant-courier' to 'vancurrier' at Shakespeare's. Other words also have finally refused to take a more popular shape, although such was current once. Chaucer wrote 'sawter' and 'sawtrie,' but we 'psalter' and 'psaltery;' Holland 'cirque,' revived by Keats, but we 'circus;' 'cense,' but we 'census;' 'interreign,' but we 'interregnum;' Sylvester 'cest,' but we 'cestus;' 'quirry,' but we 'equerry;' 'colosse' (so also Henry More), but we 'colossus;' Golding 'ure,' but we 'urus;' 'metropole,' but we 'metropolis;' Dampier 'volcan,' but this has not superseded 'volcano;' nor 'pagod' (Pope) 'pagoda;' nor 'skelet' (Holland) 'skeleton;' nor 'stimule' (Stubbs) 'stimulus.' Bolingbroke wrote 'exode,' but we hold fast to 'exodus;' Burton 'funge,' but we 'fungus;' Henry More 'enigm,' but we 'enigma;' and 'analyse,' but we 'analysis.' 'Superfice' (Dryden) has not put 'superficies,' nor 'sacrary' (Hacket) 'sacrarium,' nor 'limbeck' 'alembic,' out of use. Chaucer's 'potecary' has given place to a more Greek formation, 'apothecary;' so has 'ancre' to 'anchorite,' 'auntre' to 'adventure.' You can have hardly failed to notice, on the part of many other English words drawn from the Greek and Latin, a decided inclination to renounce their popular shape and withal their popular spelling, and to revert to their classical outline and form. Thus Chaucer's 'delitable' gave way long ago to 'delectable,' 'parfaite,' which was in Tyndale's Bible, to 'perfect;' 'aulter,' 'detter,' 'sutteltie,' 'vitailles' (all in Coverdale) to 'altar,' 'debtor,' 'subtlety,' 'victuals;' so 'falchin' to 'falchion,' 'anker' to 'anchor.' In most of these cases we may conclude that the word

came first orally into the language, and was written as pronounced; presently however a closer acquaintance with the literature of Greece and Rome brought with it the temptation to reduce the word to a nearer conformity to the shape in which there it was found. But these are exceptions; the set of language is all in the opposite direction.

Looking at this process of the reception of foreign words, with their after assimilation in feature to our own, we may trace a certain conformity between the genius of our institutions and that of our language. It is the very character of our institutions to repel none, but rather to afford a shelter and a refuge to all, from whatever quarter they come; and after a longer or shorter while all the strangers and incomers have been incorporated into the English nation, within one or two generations have forgotten that they were ever extraneous to it, have retained no other reminiscence of their foreign extraction than some slight difference of name, and that often disappearing or having disappeared. Exactly so has it been with the English language. No language has shown itself less exclusive; none has stood less upon niceties; none has thrown open its doors wider, with a fuller confidence that it could make truly its own, assimilate and subdue to itself, whatever it received into its bosom; and in no language has this confidence been more fully justified by the result.

Such are the two great augmentations from without of our vocabulary. All other are minor and subordinate. Thus the Italian influence has been far more powerful on our literature than on our language. In Chaucer it makes itself very strongly felt on the

former,[1] his debts to Dante and to Boccaccio being large and frequent, but very slightly upon the latter; and, as compared with the influence which French exerted, it may be counted as none at all. And this remained very much the condition of things for the whole period during which the star of Italy was in the ascendant here. When we consider how potent its influences were, and how long they lasted, it is only surprising that the deposit of Italian words left in the language has not been larger. There was a time when Italian was far more studied in England, and Italian books far more frequently translated, than they are at this present. Thus Ascham complains of the immense number of wicked Italian books, such as those of that 'poisonous Italian ribald,' Aretine, which were rendered into English;[2] nor can it be doubted that for a period extending from the reign of Henry VIII. to the end of that of Elizabeth, it more concerned an accomplished courtier and man of the world to be familiar with Italian than with French.

Almost every page of Spenser bears witness to his intimate acquaintance with Ariosto, and with his own contemporary, Tasso. His sonnets are 'amoretti;' 'amoret,' indeed, was a word already common enough in the language. In the choice of names for persons in his *Fairy Queen*, such as Orgoglio, Archimago, Braggadocchio, Grantorto, Malbecco, Fradubio, Gardante, Parlante, Jocante, Fidessa, Duessa, Despetto,

[1] See Kessner, *Chaucer in seinen Beziehungen zur Italienischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1867.

[2] *The Schoolmaster*, edited by Rev. J. E. Mayor, 1863, p. 82.

Decetto, Defetto, Trompart, Speranza, Humiltà, he assumes the same familiarity with the language of Italy on the part of his readers. He introduces words purely Italian, as 'basciomani' (handkissings), 'capuccio' (hood), or only not Italian, because clipped of their final letter, as 'maltalent' (ill will), 'intendiment' (understanding), 'forniment' (furniture); or words formed on Italian models, as 'to aggrate' (aggratare), and sometimes only intelligible when referred to their Italian source, as 'to affret' (=to encounter) from 'affrettare,' 'to affrap,' the Italian 'affrappare;' or words employed not in our sense, but altogether in an Italian, as 'to revolt' in that of 'rivoltare.'[1]

Milton in his prose works frequently avouches the peculiar affection to the Italian literature and language which he bore, so that, next to those of Greece and of Rome, he was most addicted to these. And his poetry without any such declarations would itself attest the same. He too calls his poems by Italian names, '*L'Allegro*,' '*Il Penseroso*.' His diction is enriched with Italian words, as 'gonfalon,' 'libecchio,' or with words formed on Italian models, as 'to imparadise,' which beautiful word, however, was not of his invention; Drayton, Southwell, Fletcher, Donne, had all used it before him. He employs words in their Italian, not their English acceptation; thus 'to assassinate'[2] not as to kill, but grievously to maltreat. His adjectival use of 'adorn,' as equivalent to 'adorned,' he must have justified by the Italian 'adorno;' so too his employment of 'to force' in that of 'sforzare,' to

[1] *F. Q.* iii. 11, 25. [2] *Samson Agonistes*, 1109.

vanquish or reduce (*S. A.* 1096). His orthography, departing from the usual, approximates to the Italian; thus for 'admiral' he writes 'ammiral' (ammiraglio), 'haralt' (araldo) for herald, 'sovran' (sovrano) for sovereign; 'desertrice' (prose) where another would have written 'desertress,' with which we may compare 'victrice' for 'victress' in Ben Jonson. 'Soldan,' for sultan, he has in common with others who went before him; so too 'to 'sdeign,' a form no doubt suggested by the Italian 'sdegnare.'

Jeremy Taylor's acquaintance with Italian, even if it were not asserted in his *Funeral Sermon*, with his assumption of a like acquaintance on the part of his readers, is testified by his frequent use of Italian proverbs (see above all in his *Holy Living and Dying*), and Italian words. He sometimes gives these an English shape, as 'to picqueer' in the sense of to skirmish; but oftener leaves them in their own. It would be easy to gather out of his writings a considerable collection of these; such as 'amorevolezza,' 'grandezza,' 'sollevamento,' 'avisamente,' 'miserabili' (in the sense of the French 'misérables'), 'incurabili;' while, scattered here and there in our literature of the first half of the seventeenth century, we meet other Italian words not a few; as 'farfalla' (=butterfly), 'amorevolous,' 'mascarata,' 'gratioso' (=favourite), 'cimici,' 'bugiard' (=liar), all in Hacket, 'capocchio' in Shakespeare, 'bordello' in Bishop Hall, who makes its plural 'bordelli,' 'leggiadrous,' in Beaumont's *Psyche* and elsewhere. A list, as complete as I could make it, of such as have finally obtained a place in the language was given in my first lecture;[1] they are

[1] See p. 16.

above a hundred, and doubtless many have escaped me.

There is abundant evidence that Spanish was during the latter half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century very widely known in England, indeed far more familiar that it ever since has been. The wars in the Low Countries, in which so many of our countrymen served, the probabilities at one period of a royal match with Spain, the fact that Spanish was almost as serviceable at Brussels, at Milan, at Naples, and for a time at Vienna, not to speak of Lima and Mexico, as at Madrid itself, and scarcely less indispensable, the many points of contact, friendly and hostile, of England with Spain for well-nigh a century, all this had conduced to a wide-spread acquaintance with Spanish in England. It was popular at court. Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth were both accomplished Spanish scholars. A passage in Howell's *Letters* would imply that at the time of Prince Charles' visit to Madrid, his Spanish was imperfect, and Clarendon affirms the same ;[1] but at a later date, that is in 1635, a Spanish play was acted by a Spanish company before him.[2] The statesmen and scholars of the time were rarely ignorant of the language. We might have confidently presumed Raleigh's acquaintance with it; even if there were not in his *Discovery of Guiana* and in other writings abundant proof of this. Lord Bacon gives similar evidence, in the Spanish proverbs which he quotes, and in the happy employment which he sometimes

[1] *History of the Rebellion*, b. i. § 75.

[2] Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 69.

makes of a Spanish word, where the English does not offer an equivalent, as of 'desenvoltura' in his essay *Of Fortune.* It was among the many accomplishments of Archbishop Williams, who, when the Spanish match was pending, caused the English Liturgy to be translated under his own eye into Spanish.[1] Pistol is ever ready with his 'Castiliano vulgo,' but whether Shakespeare's knowledge of the language was not really limited to a few chance words and phrases, as 'basta,' 'diablo,' 'passado,' 'fico,' 'duello,' 'cavallero,' 'bonos dies,' which last, I suppose, must be accepted as Spanish, and 'paucus palabras' no less, it is difficult to say. But Jonson's familiarity with it is evident. More than once, as in *The Alchemist* (act iv. sc. 2), he introduces so large an amount of Spanish that he must have felt sure this would not be altogether strange to his audience. With Spanish oaths, and very ugly ones, Beaumont and Fletcher were certainly acquainted; Wycherley too must have known the language.[2] Whether Fuller did so I cannot confidently say; but he uses more than once 'intrado' as equivalent to import duties paid on foreign merchandise. There is no such word in Spanish; but did he intend 'entrada,' which has in Spanish this meaning? Of the Spanish words which have effected a settlement in English, so far as I know them, I have given a list already.[3]

The introduction of French tastes by Charles the Second and his courtiers returning from their en-

[1] See Hacket, *Life of Archbishop Williams*, pt. i. p. 127.

[2] See *The Gentleman Dancing-master*, 1673.

[3] See page 17.

forced residence abroad, rather modified the structure of our sentences than seriously affected our vocabulary; yet it gave us some new words. In one of Dryden's plays, *Marriage à la Mode*, a lady displays her affectation by constantly employing French idioms in preference to English, French words rather than native. Curiously enough, of these, thus put into her mouth to render her ridiculous, several, as 'repartee,' 'grimace,' 'chagrin,' 'to be in the good graces of another,' are excellent English now, and have nothing far-sought or affected about them: for so it frequently proves that what is laughed at in the beginning, is by all admitted and allowed at the last. 'Fougue' and 'fraischeur,' which Dryden himself employed—being, it is true, a very rare offender in this line, and for 'fraischeur' having Scotch if not English authority—have not been justified by the same success.

Nor indeed can it be said that this adoption and naturalization of foreign words has ever wholly ceased. There are periods, as we have seen, when a language throws open its doors, and welcomes strangers with an especial freedom; but there is never a time, when one by one these foreigners and strangers are not slipping into it. The process by which this is done eludes for the most part our observation. Time, the mightiest of all innovators, manages his innovations so dexterously, spreads them over periods so large, and is thus able to bring them about so gradually, that often, while he is effecting the greatest changes, we have no suspicion that he is effecting any at all. Thus how nearly imperceptible are the steps by which a foreign word is admitted into the full rights of an English one. Many Greek words, for example, quite

unchanged in form, have in one way or another ended in obtaining a home and acceptance among us. We may in almost every instance trace step by step the stealthy naturalization of these; the Greek letters with which many of them were spelt for a while betraying the language to which they were still considered to belong. But having in this way won a certain allowance, and ceased to be altogether unfamiliar, we note them next exchanging Greek for English letters, and finally obtaining recognition as words which, however drawn from a foreign source, are yet themselves English. Thus 'acme,' 'apotheosis,' 'chrysalis,' 'criterion,' 'dogma,' 'encyclopædia,' 'euthanasia,' 'hyphen,' 'iota,' 'metropolis,' 'ophthalmia,' 'pathos,' 'phenomenon,' are all English now, while yet South with many others always wrote *ἀκμή*, Jeremy Taylor *ἀποθέωσις*, *εὐθανασία*, *ἰῶτα*, Cudworth *κριτήριον*, Henry More *χρυσαλίς*, Holland *ὑφέν*. Hammond speaks of *δόγματα*, Ben Jonson of 'the knowledge of the liberal arts, which the Greeks call *ἐγκυκλοπαιδείαν*,'[1] Culverwell writes *μητρόπολις* and *ὀφθαλμία*, Preston *φαινόμενα*, Sylvester ascribes to Baxter not 'pathos' but *πάθος*.[2] Ἦθος is at the present moment preparing

[1] He is not perfectly accurate here; the Greeks spoke of *ἐν κύκλῳ παιδεία* and *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία*, but had no such compound word as *ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*. We gather, however, from his statement, as from Lord Bacon's use of 'circle-learning' (= 'orbis doctrinæ,' Quintilian), that 'encyclopædia' did not exist in their time. 'Monomania' is in like manner a modern formation, of which the Greek language knows nothing; so too 'dipsomania.'

[2] See the passages quoted in my paper, *On some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries*, p. 38, published separately, and in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1857.

for this passage from Greek characters to English, and certainly before long will be acknowledged as English. The only cause which for some time past has stood in the way of this is the misgiving whether it will not be read 'ĕthos,' and not 'ēthos,' and thus not be the word intended.[1]

[1] The Greek words which we have thus adopted into the language, without submitting them to any change of form whatever, are more numerous than might be supposed. Omitting those just mentioned in the text, we have these, and probably many more than these; indeed, were I to introduce all medical terms, which are very numerous, and all technical terms of grammar, rhetoric, and the like, I could myself largely increase the number: thus 'acacia,' 'acropolis,' 'ægis,' 'aloe,' 'æon,' 'alpha,' 'Amazon,' 'ambrosia,' 'amphisbæna,' 'analysis,' 'anathema,' 'anemone,' 'anther,' 'anthrax,' 'antipodes,' 'antistrophe,' 'antithesis,' 'apocrypha,' 'aposiopesis,' 'apostrophe,' 'aroma,' 'asbestos,' 'asphyxia,' 'aster,' 'asthma,' 'atlas,' 'automaton,' 'axis,' 'azalea,' 'basis,' 'bathos,' 'bison,' 'bronchia,' 'bronchitis,' 'bryone,' 'calyx,' 'canon,' 'cantharides,' 'caryatides,' 'cassia,' 'castor,' 'catastrophe,' 'chameleon,' 'chaos,' 'character,' 'chimæra,' 'cholera,' 'chrysoprasos,' 'clematis,' 'climax,' 'clyster,' 'colon,' 'colophon,' 'coma,' 'comma,' 'crambe,' 'crater,' 'crisis,' 'croton,' 'Cyclops,' 'dais,' 'delta,' 'diabetes,' 'diagnosis,' 'diapason,' 'diarrhœa,' 'diastole,' 'dilemma,' 'diploma,' 'dogma,' 'drachma,' 'drama,' 'dyspepsia,' 'echo,' 'elephantiasis,' 'embryon,' 'emphasis,' 'enigma,' 'epidermis,' 'epitome,' 'erysipelas,' 'ether,' 'exegesis,' 'exodus,' 'genesis,' 'gorgon,' 'halcyon,' 'helix,' 'hippopotamus,' 'horizon,' 'hydra,' 'hydrocephalus,' 'hydrophobia,' 'hyena,' 'hyperbole,' 'hypochondria,' 'hypothesis,' 'ibis,' 'ichneumon,' 'ichor,' 'idea,' 'iris,' 'isosceles,' 'larynx,' 'lexicon,' 'lichen,' 'lotos,' 'lynx,' 'mania,' 'mandragora,' 'martyr,' 'metamorphosis,' 'mentor,' 'metathesis,' 'metempsychosis,' 'miasma,' 'moly,' 'mormo' (obsolete), 'myrmidon,' 'naphtha,' 'nausea,' 'necropolis,' 'nectar,' 'nemesis,' 'nepenthes,'

Let us endeavour to trace this same process in some French word, which is at this moment gaining a footing among us. For 'prestige' we have manifestly no equivalent of our own. It expresses something which only by a long circumlocution we could express; namely, that real though undefinable influence on others, which past successes, as the pledge and promise of future ones, breed. It has thus naturally passed into frequent use. No one feels that in employing it he is slighting as good a word of our own. At first all used it avowedly as French, writing it in italics to indicate this. Some write it so still, others do not; some, that is, count it still as foreign, others consider that it is not so to be regarded any more.[1] Little by little the number of those who write

'neuralgia,' 'oasis,' 'octopus,' 'omega,' 'onyx,' 'orchestra,' 'orchis,' 'ozone,' 'pæan,' 'panacea,' 'pantheon,' 'panther,' 'parallax,' 'paralysis,' 'parenthesis,' 'parhelion,' 'pelecan,' 'phaeton,' 'phalanx,' 'phantasma,' 'phasis,' 'pharos,' 'phlox,' 'phœnix,' 'phthisis,' 'plethora,' 'polypus,' 'proboscis,' 'prolegomena,' 'prolepsis,' 'protomartyr,' 'python,' 'rhinoceros,' 'rhododendron,' 'sardonyx,' 'scoria,' 'scorpion,' 'sepia,' 'siphon,' 'siren,' 'skeleton,' 'sphinx,' 'spleen,' 'stigma,' 'strophe,' 'synopsis,' 'synthesis,' 'systole,' 'thesis,' 'thorax,' 'tiara,' 'titan,' 'trachea,' 'tripos.'

[1] We trace a similar progress in Greek words which were passing into Latin. Thus Cæsar (*B. G.* iii. 103) writes, quæ Græci ἄδυτα appellant; but Horace (*Carm.* i. 16. 5), non *adytis* quatit. Cicero writes ἀντίποδες (*Acad.* ii. 39. 123), but Seneca (*Ep.* 122), 'antipodes;' that is, the word for Cicero was still Greek, while in the period that elapsed between him and Seneca, it had become Latin. So too Cicero has εἴδωλον, but the Younger Pliny 'idolon,' and Tertullian 'idolum;' Cicero στρατήγημα (*N. D.* iii. 6), but Valerius Maximus 'strategema.'

it in italics will diminish ; and finally none will do so. It will then only need that the accent be shifted as far back as it will go, for such is the instinct of all English words, that for 'prestíge,' it should be pronounced 'préstige,' as indeed we are learning to pronounce it, even as within these few years for 'depót' we have learned to say 'dépot,' and its naturalization will be complete. I have no doubt that before many years it will be so pronounced by the majority of educated Englishmen, and that the pronunciation more common now will pass away, just as 'obl*ee*ge,' once universal, has everywhere given place to 'obl*i*ge.'[1]

I observe in passing, that the process of throwing the accent of a word as far back as it will go, is one which has been constantly proceeding among us. In the time and writings of Chaucer there was much vacillation in the placing of the accent ; as was to be expected, while the adoptions from the French were comparatively recent, and had not yet unlearned their foreign ways or made themselves perfectly at home among us. Some of his French words are still accented on the final syllable, thus 'beauté,' 'creatúre,' 'honoúr,' 'manére,' 'penánce,' 'senténce,' 'servíce;' others, as 'cólour,' 'cónseil,' 'trésour,' on the first ; while this vacillation displays itself still more markedly in the fact that the same word is accented by him sometimes on the one syllable and sometimes upon the other ; he writing at one time 'natúre' and at

[1] See in Coleridge's *Table Talk*, p. 3, the amusing story of John Kemble's stately correction of the Prince of Wales for adhering to the earlier pronunciation, 'obl*ee*ge,'—'It will become your royal mouth better to say obl*i*ge.'

another 'náture,' at one time 'vertúe' and at another 'vértue;' so too 'vísage' and 'viságe,' 'fórtune' and 'fortúne;' 'sérvice' and 'servíce,' with many more. The same disposition to throw back the accent is visible in later times. Thus 'captíve,' 'cruél,' 'envý,' 'forést,' 'preságe,' 'trespáss,' in Spenser, and these, 'advérse,' 'aspéct,' 'commérce,' 'comráde,' 'contést,' 'contríte,' 'edíct,' 'egréss,' 'exíle,' 'impúlse,' 'instínct,' 'insúlt,' 'precínct,' 'pretéxt,' 'procéss,' 'product,' 'prostráte,' 'surfáce,' 'upróar,' in Milton, had all their accent once on the last syllable; they have it now on the first. So too, 'théatre' was 'theátre' with Sylvester, this American pronunciation being archaic rather than vulgar; while 'acádemy' was 'academy' for Cowley and for Butler.[1] 'Próduce' was 'produce' for Dryden; 'éssay' was 'essáy' both for him and for Pope; he closes heroic lines with one and the other of these substantives; Pope does the same with 'barríer'[2] and 'effórt.' We may note the same process going forward still. Middle-aged men may remember that it was a question in their youth whether it should be 'revénue' or 'révenue;' 'retínue' or 'rétinue;' it is always 'révenue' and 'rétinue' now. Samuel Rogers bewailed the change which had taken place in his memory from 'balcóny' to 'bálcony.' 'Cóntemplate,' he exclaims, 'is bad enough, but bálcony makes me sick;' yet it has effectually won the day. Nor is it, I think, difficult to explain how this should be. The speaker, con-

[1] 'In this great *academy* of mankind.'
To the Memory of Du Val.

[2] 'Twixt that and reason what a nice *barrier*.'

scious that somewhere or other the effort must be made, is glad to have it over as soon as possible. 'Apostólic,' which in Dryden's use was 'apóstolic' (he ends an heroic line with it), is a rare instance of the accent moving in the opposite direction.

Other French words not a few, besides 'prestige' which I instanced just now, are at this moment hovering on the confines of English, hardly knowing whether they shall become such altogether or not. Such are 'badinage,' 'chicane,' 'ennui,' 'exploitation,' 'finesse,' 'mêlée' (Tennyson already spells it 'mellay'), 'morne,' 'persiflage,' 'verve,' and others. All these are often employed by us,—and it is out of such frequent employment that adoption proceeds—because expressing shades of meaning not expressed by any words of our own. Some of them will no doubt complete their naturalization; others will after a time retreat again, and become for us once more avowedly French. 'Solidarity,' which we owe to the French Communists,—signifying a fellowship in gain and loss, in honour and dishonour, in victory and defeat, a being, so to speak, all in the same boat,—is so convenient that it would be idle to struggle against it. It has established itself in German, and in other European languages as well. 'Banality,' by Browning recently proposed for admission, will scarcely have the same good fortune.

Or take an example of this progressive naturalization from another quarter. In an English glossary, of date 1671, I do not find 'tea,' but 'cha,' which is thus defined, 'the leaf of a tree in China, which being infused into water, serves for their ordinary drink.' Thirteen years later the word is no longer a Chinese,

but already a French one for us; Locke in his *Diary* writing it 'thé.' Early in the next century the word is spelt in an entirely English fashion, in fact as we spell it now, but still retains a foreign pronunciation,—Pope rhymes it with 'obey,'—and this the last note of its foreign origin it has only lately altogether let go.

Greek and Latin words we still continue to adopt, although now no longer in troops and companies, but only one by one. The lively interest which always has been felt in classical studies among us, and which will continue to be felt, so long as Englishmen present to themselves a high culture of their faculties and powers as an object of ambition, so long as models of what is truest and fairest in art have any attraction for them, is itself a pledge that accessions from these quarters can never cease altogether. I refer not here to purely scientific terms; these, so long as they do not pass beyond the threshold of the science for whose use they were invented, have no proper right to be called words at all. They are a kind of shorthand, or algebraic notation, of the science to which they belong; and will find no place in a dictionary constructed upon true principles, but will be left to constitute a technical dictionary by themselves. They are oftentimes drafted into a dictionary of the language; but this for the most part out of a barren ostentation, and that so there may be room for boasting of the many thousand words by which it surpasses all its predecessors. Such additions are very cheaply made. Nothing is easier than to turn to modern treatises on chemistry or electricity, or on some other science which hardly existed, or did

not at all exist, half a century ago, or which—like botany—have been in later times wholly new-named, and to transplant new terms from these by the hundred and the thousand, with which to crowd and deform the pages of a dictionary. The labour is little more than that of transcription; but the gain is nought. Indeed it is much less than nought; for it is not merely that half a dozen genuine English words recovered from our old authors would be a truer gain, a more real advance toward the complete inventory of the wealth which we possess in words than a hundred or a thousand of these; but additions of this kind encumber and disfigure the work which they profess to complete.

When we call to mind the near affinity between English and German, which, if not sisters, are at any rate first cousins, it is remarkable that almost since the day when they parted company, each to fulfil its own destiny, there has been little further commerce in the way of giving or taking between them. Adoptions on our part from the German have been extremely rare. The explanation of this lies no doubt in the fact that the literary activity of Germany did not begin till very late, nor our interest in it till later still, not indeed till the beginning of the present century. Literature, however, is not the only channel by which words pass from one language to another; thus 'plunder' was brought back from Germany about the beginning of our Civil War by the soldiers who had served under Gustavus Adolphus and his captains;[1] while 'trigger,' which reached us at the same time, and by

[1] See my *Gustavus Adolphus in Germany*, 2nd edit. p. 105.

the same channel, is manifestly the German 'drücker' ('tricker' in Hudibras), though none of our dictionaries have marked it as such. The 'thaler' reappears as the 'dollar.' 'Crikesman' ('kriegsmann'), common in the *State Papers* of the sixteenth century, found no permanent place in the language. The same may be said of 'brandshat' ('brandschatz'), being the ransom paid to an enemy for *not* burning down your house or your city; and of 'crants,' though Shakespeare uses it. 'Iceberg,' quite a modern word, we must have taken whole from the German or Dutch, since a word of our own construction would have been not 'ice-*berg*,' but 'ice-*mountain*.' An English 'swindler' is not exactly a German 'schwindler;' yet a subaudition of the knave, though more latent in the German, is common to both; and we must have drawn the word from Germany (it is not in Johnson), late in the last century. To this small contribution of words from the German we may add 'huzzah,' 'howitzer,' 'landau,' and 'easel,' this last the frame or little 'ass' on which the painter supports his canvas.

There is indeed only one province of words in which we are recent debtors to the Germans to any considerable extent. Of the terms used by the mineralogist and geologist many have been borrowed, and in comparatively modern times, from them; thus 'quartz,' 'feldspar,' 'cobalt,' 'nickel,' 'zinc,' 'hornblend;' while other terms employed by us are direct translations from the same; such for instance as 'fuller's-earth' (walkererde), 'pipeclay' (pfeifenthon), 'pitchstone' (pechstein). Of very recent importations I hardly know one; unless, indeed, we adopt Koch's ingenious suggestion that 'to loaf' and 'loafer,' which

not long ago arrived in England by way of America, are the German 'laufen' and 'läufer.' 'Meerschaum' too may be regarded as naturalized now.

But if we have not imported, we have been somewhat addicted of late to the imitating of, German words, that is, to the framing words of our own on the scheme and model of some which have so far taken our fancy that we have thought to enrich our own vocabulary with the like. We have not always been very happy in those thus selected for imitation. Possessing 'manual,' we need not have recalled 'hand-book' from an oblivion of nine hundred years; and one can only regret that 'standpoint' has succeeded in forcing itself on the language. 'Einseitig' (itself modern) is the pattern on which we have formed 'one-sided'—a word to which there clung a few years ago a certain note of affectation, none using it save those who dealt more or less in German wares; it has however its manifest convenience, and will hold its ground; so too, as it seems, will 'fatherland,' which Sir William Temple observed long ago to be used by the Dutch for 'native country'; and 'windbag,' an evident translation of 'wind-beutel.' The happiest of these compounded words, of which the hint has been taken from the German, is 'folk-lore;' the substitution of this for 'popular superstitions' is an unquestionable gain.

It is only too easy to be mistaken in such a matter; but, if I do not err, the following words have all been born during the present century, some within quite the later decades of this century; a distribution of them according to the languages from which they are drawn would show that Greek and Latin are the lan-

guages from which at the present day our own is mainly, though by no means exclusively recruited: 'abnormal,' 'acrobat,' 'agnostic' (invented by Professor Huxley), 'æon,' 'æonian' (Tennyson), 'æsthetics' (these three must renounce their initial diphthong, as 'economy,' 'ether,' and others have done, before they can be regarded as quite at home with us);[1] 'altruism,' 'analogue,' 'aquarium,' 'artistic,' 'atavism,' 'automatic,' 'biology,' 'burke,' 'bus,' 'cab,' 'celebrant,' 'ceramic,' 'cereal,' 'cerebration,' 'chloral,' 'chloroform,' 'cleavage,' 'clipper,' 'codify,' 'competitive,' 'condone,' 'conversational,' 'crochety,' 'delimitation,' 'demonetize,' 'demoralize,' 'demotic,' 'deplete,' 'depletion,' 'desirability,' 'deterrent,' 'digraph,' 'disendow,' 'disestablish,' 'dissimilation,' 'dynamic,' 'dynamite,' 'educational,' 'enlightenment,' 'eschatology,' 'ethnology,' 'eurasian,' 'evolutionist,' 'exceptional,' 'excursionist,' 'exhaustive,' 'exploitation,' 'extradition,' 'fatherland,' 'fenian,' 'fernery,' 'finesse,' 'flange,' 'flunkey,' 'folklore,' 'garotter,' 'grandiose,' 'haulage,' 'hegemony,' 'heredity,' 'homœopathy,' 'hoplite,' 'hymnal,' 'hymnary,' 'hymnology,' 'immigrant,' 'impecunious,' 'infalliblist,' 'inopportunist,' 'iodine,' 'lacustrine,' 'linguistic,' 'loot,' 'macadamize,' 'maximize,' 'messianic,' 'migrant,' 'minimize,' 'mitrailleuse,' 'monograph,' 'myth,' 'neutralization,' 'nihilist,' 'normal,' 'oldster,' 'onesided,' 'ornamentation,' 'outcome,' 'outsider,' 'outturn,' 'overlord,' 'ozone,' 'paraffin,' 'pastorate,' 'pérvert,' 'pessimist,'

[1] A writer in the *Philological Museum*, so late as 1832, p. 369, doubts whether 'æsthetics' will establish itself in the language; which it certainly has done.

'petroleum' (but why not 'rock-oil'?), 'philander,' 'photograph,' 'positivist,' 'postulant,' 'prayerful,' 'pretentious,' 'proletarian,' 'protoplasm,' 'rascaldom,' 'ratten,' 'realistic,' 'recoup,' 'recuperative,' 'reformatory,'[1] 'révert,' 'revivalist,' 'revolver,' 'ritualist,' 'rockery,' 'rowdy,' 'sanitary,' 'sanitation,' 'scamp,' 'scientist,' 'sensational,' 'serial,' 'sewage,' 'shoddy,' 'shrinkage,' 'shunt,' 'siding,' 'skilly,' 'skit,' 'slum,' 'sociology,' 'solidarity,' 'specialist,' 'squatter,' 'stampede,' 'standpoint,' 'statistics,' 'statuesque,' 'stereotype' (invented by Didot), 'strategy,' 'stylist,' 'suggestive,' 'telegram,' 'teleology,' 'thud,' 'tourist,' 'tractarian,' 'transliteration,' 'uniformitarian,' 'utilitarian,' 'utilize,' 'variant,' 'velocipede,' 'vivisection,' 'watershed,' 'welcher,' 'wreckage.' It must be owned of some of these that we could want them (in the older sense of 'to want'), without the want being very seriously felt; others have been imposed upon us by necessities against which it would be idle to struggle; by new inventions, by new discoveries of science, by new activities of thought in this direction and in that, by much which is healthy, and by something also which is unhealthy among us; and if they are not all particularly praiseworthy, there yet are some in this list, by the possession of which we are manifestly gainers. I must pause here, for the subject is very far from exhausted.

[1] 'Reliable,' which in former editions found here its place, is now omitted, as having no right to this. In the *Academy*, Sept. 22, 1877, it is shown to have been used by Richard Montagu in 1624. Accomplishing nothing which 'trustworthy' does not accomplish much better, it might very well have been left in the forgetfulness which it deserved.

LECTURE IV.

GAINS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

(CONTINUED.)

TAKING up the subject where in my last lecture I left off, I proceed to enumerate some other devices by which we have made additions to our vocabulary. Of course the period when absolutely new roots are generated will have passed away very long indeed before men begin by a reflective act to take notice of processes going forward in the language which they speak. That pure productive energy, creative we might call it, belongs to times quite out of the ken of history. It is only from materials already existing that it can enrich itself in the later, or historical stages of its development.[1]

This it can do in many ways. And first, it can bring what it has already, two words or more, into new combinations, and form a new word out of these. Much more is wanted here than merely to link them together by a hyphen; they must really coalesce and grow together. Different languages, and even the same language at different epochs of its life, will possess this power in very different degrees. The

[1] See on this matter Pott, *Etym. Forsch.* vol. ii. pars i. p. 230.

eminent felicity of the Greek has been always acknowledged. 'The joints of her compounded words,' says Fuller, 'are so naturally oiled, that they run nimbly on the tongue, which makes them, though long, never tedious, because significant.'[1] Sir Philip Sidney makes the same claim for our English, namely, that 'it is particularly happy in the composition of two or three words together, near equal to the Greek.'[2] No

[1] *Holy State*, b. ii. c. 6. Latin promised at one time to display an almost equal freedom in forming new words by the happy marriage of old. But at the period of its highest culture it seemed possessed with a timidity which caused it voluntarily to abdicate this with many of its other powers. In the Augustan period we look in vain for new epithets like these, both occurring in a single line of Catullus: 'Ubi cerva *silvicultrix*, ubi aper *nemorivagus*;' or again, as his 'fluentisonus,' as the 'salsipotens' of Plautus, the 'velivolus,' the 'noctivagus' of Lucretius, or as the 'imbricitor' of Ennius. Nay, of those pregnant compounds which the language once had formed, it let numbers drop: 'parcipromus,' 'turpilucricupidus,' and many more, do not extend beyond Plautus; nor 'fallaciloquentia,' exactly corresponding to the πιθανολογία of St. Paul (Col. ii. 4), beyond Accius. Quintilian (i. 5. 70): Res tota magis Græcos decet, nobis minus succedit; nec id fieri naturâ puto, sed alienis favemus; ideoque cum κυρταυχένα mirati sumus, *incurvicervicum* vix a risu defendimus. Elsewhere he complains of the little *generative* power of the Latin, its continual losses being compensated by no equivalent gains (viii. 6, 32): Deinde, tanquam, consummata sint omnia, nihil generare audemus ipsi, quum multa quotidie ab antiquis ficta moriantur. Still the silver age of the language did recover to some extent the abdicated energies of its earlier times, reasserted among other powers that of combining words, with a certain measure of success.

[2] There is a certain exaggeration here. We can do much, but in this matter the Germans are on a nearer equality with the Greeks than we are. How rich is Goethe in such com-

one has done more than Milton to justify this praise, or to show what may be effected by this happy marriage of words. Many of his compound epithets, as 'grey-hooded even,' 'coral-paven floor,' 'flowry-kirtled Naiades,' 'golden-wingéd host,' 'Night's drowsy-flighted steeds,' 'night-foundered skiff,' 'tinsel-slippered feet,' 'violet-embroidered vale,' 'dewy-feathered sleep,' 'sky-tinctured grain,' 'vermeil-tinctured lip,' 'amber-dropping hair,' are themselves, like the 'tempest-footed steeds,' the 'night-wandering stars' of the Greek poet, like his 'golden-throned,' 'saffron-robed,' 'fair-haired,' 'white-winged,' 'white-steeded Aurora,' each of them a poem in miniature. Not unworthy to be set beside these are Sylvester's 'opal-coloured morn,' Drayton's 'silver-sanded shore,' Marlowe's 'golden-fingered Ind,' Beaumont and Fletcher's 'golden-tressed Apollo,' Spenser's 'sea-shouldering whale,' with which Keats was so much delighted, Shakespeare's 'heavy-gaited toad,' 'yellow-skirted fays,' 'fiery-footed steeds,' 'eagle-wingéd pride,' 'maid-pale peace,' Chapman's 'rosy-fingered morn' (for Pope owed it to Chapman), Keats' 'yellow-girted bees,' Tennyson's 'silvered-coasted isle,' and 'rock-thwarted waves.' At the same time combinations like these remain so much the peculiar property of their first author, they so little pass into any further use, that they must rather be regarded as evidences of its poetical than augmentations of its linguistic wealth.

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pounds, though his earlier formations possess a certain natural ease, which is sometimes wanting in his latter. Thus the First Part of *Faust* yields us such as follow: 'gnadenpforte,' 'donnergang,' 'lebensfluth,' 'thatensturm;' but the Second such as these: 'glitzerstand,' 'glanzgewimmel,' 'krackzegruss.'

Such words as 'international,' or as 'folk-lore,' instanced already, are better examples of additions to our every-day working vocabulary. 'International' we owe to Jeremy Bentham, one of the boldest, yet in the main least successful among the fashioners of new words by the putting together of old. But strange and formless as is for the most part this progeny of his brain, he has given us here a word which does such excellent service, that it is difficult to understand how the language, how diplomatists and statesmen above all, contrived so long to do without it.

We have further increased our vocabulary by forming new words according to the analogy of formations which in parallel cases have been already allowed. Thus upon the substantives 'congregation,' 'convention,' were formed 'congregational,' 'conventional;' yet these at a comparatively modern date; 'congregational' first rising up in the Assembly of Divines, or during the time of the Commonwealth.[1] A few of these having found allowance, the process is repeated, not always with very gratifying results, in the case of other words with the same ending. We are now used to 'educational,' and the word is serviceable enough; but I can remember when a good many years ago an '*Educational* Magazine' was started, one's first impression was, that a work having to do with education should not thus bear upon its front an offensive, or at best a very questionable, novelty in the English language. These adjectives are now multiplying fast. We have 'inflexional,' 'seasonal,' 'exceptional,'

[1] *Collection of Scarce Tracts*, edited by Sir W. Scott, vol. vii. p. 91.

'denominational,' and on this the monstrous birth 'denominationalism;' 'emotional' is creeping into books; 'sensational,' name and thing, has found only too ready a welcome among us; so that it is hard to say whether all words with this termination will not finally generate an adjective. Convenient as you may sometimes find these, you will do well to abstain from all but the perfectly well recognized formations. For as many as have no claim to be arbiters of the language Pope's advice is good, as certainly it is safe, that they be not among the last to use a word which is going out, nor among the first to employ one that is coming in.

'Its,' the anomalously formed genitive of 'it,' was created with the object of removing an inconvenience, which for a while made itself seriously felt in the language. The circumstances of the rise of this little word, and of the place which it has secured for itself among us, are sufficiently curious to justify a treatment which might appear out of proportion with the importance that it has; but which none will deem so, who are at all acquainted with the remarkable facts of our language bound up in the story of the word.

Within the last few years attention has been drawn to the circumstance that 'its' is of comparatively recent introduction into the language. The earliest example which has yet been adduced is from Florio's *World of Words*, 1598; the next from the translation of Montaigne by the same author, 1603. You will not find it once in our English Bible, the office which it fulfils for us now being there fulfilled either by 'his,' (Gen. i. 11; Exod. xxxvii. 17; Matt. v. 15) or 'her' (Jon. i. 15; Rev. xxii. 2), these applied as freely to

inanimate things as to persons ; or else by 'thereof' (Gen. iii. 6; Ps. lxv. 10) or 'of it' (Dan. vii. 5). Nor may Lev. xxv. 5 be urged as invalidating this assertion, as there will presently be occasion to show. To Bacon 'its' is altogether unknown ; he too had no scruple about using 'his' as a neuter; as in the following passage : 'Learning hath *his* infancy, when *it* is but beginning and almost childish; then *his* youth, when *it* is luxuriant and juvenile; then *his* strength of years, when *it* is solid and reduced; and lastly *his* old age, when *it* waxeth dry and exhaust.'[1] 'Its' is equally unknown to Spenser. Some rare examples of it have been found in Ben Jonson, who however knows nothing of it in his *Grammar* : in Shakespeare too it occurs very seldom, in far the larger number of his plays not at all; indeed, all counted, not more than fourteen times in the whole; though, singularly enough, three of these uses occur in one speech of twelve lines in *The Winter's Tale.*[2] Milton for the most part avoids it; though we find it a few times in his poetry.[3]

[1] *Essay* 58.

[2] Act i. sc. 2.

[3] As in *P. L.* i. 254; iv. 813. For all this it is employed by him so rarely, that the use of it four times in the little poem which has been recently ascribed to him, seems to me of itself nearly decisive against his authorship. It is worth while, however, to see what has been urged to weaken this argument in Mr. Morley's *King and Commons.* Unluckily, neither Mrs. Cowden Clarke, to whom we owe so excellent a *Concordance* of Shakespeare's *Plays* (but why not of his *Poems* as well?) nor Mr. Prendergast, to whom we are indebted for one of Milton's *Poetical Works*, was aware of the importance of registering the very rare occurrences of 'its' in their several authors, and we look in vain for any notice of the word in them.

It is not hard to trace the motives which led to the generation of this genitive, or the causes which have enabled it against much tacit opposition to hold its own. So soon as ever it was forgotten that 'his' was the working genitive of 'it' as well as of 'he,' a manifest inconvenience attended the employment of 'his' both for masculine and neuter, or, to speak more accurately, for persons and for things; this, namely, that the personifying power of 'his,' no unimportant power for the poet, was seriously impaired, almost destroyed, thereby. It would be often difficult, nay impossible, to determine whether such a personification was intended or not; and even where the context made perfectly evident that such *was* meant, the employment of the same form where nothing of the kind was intended, contributed greatly to diminish its effect. Craik has noticed as a consequence of this that Milton prefers, wherever it is possible, the feminine to the masculine personification,[1] as if he felt that the latter was always obscure from the risk of 'his' being taken for the neuter pronoun. There was room too for other confusions. When we read of the Ancient of Days, that '*his* throne was like the fiery flame, and *his* wheels as burning fire' (Dan. vii. 9), who does not now refer the second 'his' as well as the first to 'the Ancient of Days'? It indeed belongs to the 'throne.'

So strongly had these and other inconveniences made themselves felt, that there was already, and had been for a long while, a genitival employment of 'it,'

[1] Thus see *P. L.* ii. 4, 175, 584; ix. 1103; *Comus*, 396, 468.

whereby it was made to serve all the uses which 'its' served at a later day. In some dialects, in the West Midland for example, this dates very far back.[1] We have one example of 'it,' so used, in the Authorized Version of Scripture, Lev. xxv. 5: 'That which groweth of *it* own accord thou shalt not reap'—which has silently been changed in later editions to '*its* own accord;' but 'it' was the reading in the exemplar edition of 1611, and for a considerable time following; it is to be found so late as in an edition of 1668; though I believe not later; while already in one of 1654 'its' had put in an appearance. Exactly the same phrase, 'of *it* own accord,' occurs in the Geneva Version at Acts xii. 10.[2] There are several examples, thirteen have been counted, of this use of 'it' in Shakespeare; thus in *The Winter's Tale*, iii. 2: 'The innocent milk in *it* most innocent mouth;' and again in *King John*, ii. 3: 'Go to *it* grandame.' And they are by no means unfrequent in other writers of the earlier half of the seventeenth century. In Ben Jonson 'it' as ='its' may be found, but very rarely. In Rogers' *Naaman the Syrian*, published in 1642, but the lectures delivered some eight years earlier, 'its' nowhere occurs, but a genitival 'it' often; thus, 'I am at this mark, to withdraw the soul from the life of *it* own hand' (*Preface*, p. 1); and again, 'The power

[1] See Guest, *Hist. of English Rhythms*, vol. i. p. 280.

[2] And also in Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.* i. 3. 5. In Keble's edition this is printed 'of *its* own accord.' Were this the original reading, then, as the book was first published in 1594, we should have an earlier example of 'its' by four years than that in Florio; but in all editions up to that of 1632, 'of *it* own accord' is the reading.

of the Spirit is such that it blows at *it* own pleasure' (p. 441); and again, 'The scope which mercy propounds to herself in the turning the soul to God, even the glory of *it* own self' (p. 442).[1] 'It,' where we should use 'its,' occurs in a work published in 1656. I know of no later literary use; but it is very common in Lancashire still.

No doubt we have here in this use of 'it' a stepping-stone by which the coming up of 'its' was greatly aided. With all this the word was for long very reluctantly allowed, above all in any statelier style. It was evidently regarded as an unwelcome makeshift, not always to be dispensed with, but to which recourse should be had only when such was unavoidable. This feeling is not even now extinct. I remember hearing Lord Macaulay say that he always avoided employing 'its' when he could; while to every writer of English verse, who has any sense of melody, the necessity of using it is often one from which he would most gladly escape. It is, in fact, a *parvenu*, which has forced itself into good society at last, but not with the good will of those who in the end had no choice but to admit it.

There is indeed a very singular period in our literature, extending over more than the first half of the seventeenth century, during which the old grammatical usages, namely, 'his' applied to neuters as freely

[1] See upon this whole subject Craik, *On the English of Shakespeare*, 2nd edit. p. 97; Marsh, *Manual of the English Language*, Engl. edit. p. 278; *Transactions of the Philological Society*, vol. i. p. 280; Wright, *The Bible Word-book*, s. v. 'it;' and the *Essay on Milton's English*, prefixed to Masson's edition of his *Poetical Works*.

as to masculines, or instead of this, 'thereof,' or 'of it,' were virtually condemned—the first as involving many possible confusions, the others as clumsy and antiquated contrivances for escaping these confusions, while yet at the same time the help of 'its' is claimed as sparingly as possible, by some is not claimed at all. Thus I have carefully examined large portions of Daniel and Drayton—the first died in 1619, the second in 1631—without once lighting upon the word, and am inclined to believe that it occurs in neither; but, which is very much more noticeable, I have done this without lighting upon more than one or two passages where there was even the temptation, if the poet shrunk from the employment of 'its,' to employ any of the earlier substitutes; so that it is hardly too much to say that the whole fashion of their sentences must have been often shaped by a conscious or unconscious seeking to avoid the alternative necessities either of using, or else evidently finding a substitute for, this unwelcome little monosyllable. Dryden, I suppose, had no conscious scruple about employing 'its,' and yet how rarely he did so, as compared with a modern writer under the same inducements, a fact like this remarkably attests, namely, that in his rendering of the second book of the *Æneid*, on which I made the experiment, 'its' occurs only three times, while in Conington's translation of the same no fewer times than twenty-six. We may further note that many who employed the newly invented possessive, ever and anon fell back on 'his,' or 'her,' or 'thereof,' as though the other did not exist. It is thus continually with Fuller, and, though not so often, with Jeremy Taylor. Thus the former says of Solomon's Temple:

'Twice was *it* pillaged by foreign foes, and four times by *her* own friends before the final destruction *thereof*.'[1] He turns to 'thereof' for help ten times for once that 'its' finds allowance with him. And in Jeremy Taylor a construction such as the following is not unusual: 'Death hath not only lost the sting, but *it* bringeth a coronet in *her* hand.'

How soon, with all this, the actual novelty of 'its' was forgotten is strikingly evidenced by the fact that when Dryden, in one of his moods of fault-finding with the poets of the preceding generation, is taking Ben Jonson to task for general inaccuracy in his English diction, among other counts of his indictment, he quotes this line from *Catiline*,

'Though heaven should speak with all *his* wrath at once,'

and proceeds, '*heaven* is ill syntax with *his*;' and this, while in fact till within forty or fifty years of the time when Dryden began to write, no other syntax was known; and to a much later date was exceedingly rare. Curious, too, is it to note that in the earnest controversy which followed on the publication by Chatterton of the poems ascribed by him to the monk Rowley, who should have lived in the fifteenth century, no one appealed to the following line.

'Life and all *its* goods I scorn,'

as at once deciding that the poems were not of the age which they pretended. Warton, who denied, though with some hesitation, their antiquity,[2] giving

[1] *Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, p. 40. Compare Marsh, *Lectures on the English Language*. New York, 1860, p. 399.

[2] *History of English Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 463 sqq.

many and sufficient reasons for this denial, failed to take note of this little word, which betrayed the forgery at once.

Again, languages enrich their vocabulary, our own has largely done so, by recovering treasures which had escaped them for a while. Not that all which drops out of use and memory *is* loss; there are words which it is gain to be rid of, and which none would wish to revive; words of which Dryden says truly, though in a somewhat ungracious comparison—they do 'not deserve this redemption, any more than the crowds of men who daily die, or are slain for sixpence in a battle, merit to be restored to life, if a wish could revive them.'[1] But there are others which it is a real advantage to draw back again from the temporary oblivion into which they had fallen, and such recoveries are more numerous than might at first be supposed.

You may remember that Horace, tracing in a few memorable lines the fortune of words, and noting that many, once in use, were in his time no longer current, did not therefore count that of necessity their race was for ever run. So far from this, he confidently anticipated a *palingenesy* or renewed existence for many among them.[2] They had set, but they should rise again: what seemed death was only suspended animation. Such indeed is constantly the

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[1] Postscript to his *Translation of the Æneid.* For Gray's judgment on the words recovered or recalled by Dryden, see *Letter* 43, to West.

[2] Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere.

Art. Poet. 46–72; cf. *Ep.* ii. 2. 115.

fact. Words slip almost or quite as imperceptibly back into use as they once slipped out of it. There is abundant evidence of this. Thus in 1534 it was found necessary to gloss as archaisms the following words, 'behest,' 'chieftain,' 'desert,' 'thrall,' 'thraldom.' So too in the contemporary gloss which an anonymous friend of Spenser furnishes to his *Shepherd's Calendar*, first published in 1579, 'for the exposition of old words,' as he declares, he includes the following in his list: 'askance,' 'bevy,' 'coronal,' 'dapper,' 'embellish,' 'fain,' 'flowret,' 'forlorn,' 'forestall,' 'glee,' 'keen,' 'scathe,' 'seer,' 'surly,' 'welter,' 'wizard,' with others quite as familiar as these. In the table of words 'not familiar to the vulgar reader,' and explained in the first edition of the Rhemish Bible, the following are included: 'acquisition,' 'advent,' 'adulterate,' 'allegory,' 'co-operate,' 'evangelize,' 'eunuch,' 'præscience.' In Speght's *Chaucer* (1667), there is a long list of 'old and obscure words in Chaucer explained;' these 'old and obscure words' including 'anthem,' 'bland,' 'blithe,' 'carol,' 'chaplet,' 'deluge,' 'franchise,' 'illusion,' 'problem,' 'recreant,' 'sphere,' 'tissue,' 'transcend,' with very many easier than these. In Skinner's *Etymologicon* (1671), there is another such list of words which have gone out of use,[1] and among these he includes 'to dovetail,' 'to interlace,' 'elvish,' 'encumbred,' 'gawd,' 'glare,' 'malison,' 'mascarade,' 'oriental,' 'phantom,' 'plumage,' 'pummel,' (pomell), 'shapely.' Again, there is

[1] *Etymologicon vocum omnium antiquarum quæ usque a Wilhelmo Victore invaluerunt, et jam ante parentum ætatem in usu esse desierunt.*

prefixed to Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, in which, as is well known, he affects the archaic, an 'explanation of the obsolete words used in this poem.' They are not very many, but they embrace 'appal,' 'aye,' 'bale,' 'blazon,' 'carol,' 'deftly,' 'gear,' 'glee,' 'imp,' 'nursling,' 'prankt,' 'sere,' 'sheen,' 'sweltry,' 'thrall,' 'unkempt,' 'wight;' many of which would be used without scruple in the prose, the remainder belonging to the recognized poetical diction, of the present day. West, a contemporary of Thomson, whose works have found their way into *Johnson's Poets*, and who, like Thomson, flattered himself that he was writing 'in the manner of Spenser,' counts it necessary to explain 'assay,' 'astound,' 'caitiff,' 'dight,' 'emprise,' 'guise,' 'kaiser,' 'palmer,' 'paragon,' 'paramour,' 'paynim,' 'prowess,' 'trenchant,' 'welkin;' with all which our poetry is familiar now. Gray, writing in 1771, regarded 'eschew,' 'forth,' 'gaud,' 'meed,' 'sheen' and 'wight' as obsolete. A booksellers' edition of Shakespeare, published in 1798, has a *Glossary of obscure and difficult words* appended. Among these are 'draff,' 'gourd,' 'guerdon,' 'grime,' 'kirtle,' 'scan,' 'shrift,' 'stole,' 'tether,' 'tiny,' and such like.

It is well-nigh incredible what words it has been sometimes proposed to dismiss from our English Bible on the plea that they 'are now almost or entirely obsolete.' Wemyss, writing in 1816, desired to get rid of 'athirst,' 'ensample,' 'garner,' 'haply,' 'jeopardy,' 'lack,' 'passion,' 'straightway,' 'twain,' 'wax,' with a multitude of other words not a whit more remote from our ordinary use. Purver, whose *New and Literal Translation of the Old and New Testament* appeared in 1764, has an enormous list of expressions

that are 'clownish, barbarous, base, hard, technical, misapplied, or new coined;' and among these are 'beguile,' 'boisterous,' 'lineage,' 'perseverance,' 'potentate,' 'remit,' 'seducer,' 'shorn,' 'swerve,' 'vigilant,' 'unction,' 'unloose,' 'vocation.' And the same worship of the fleeting present, of the transient fashions of the hour in language, with the same contempt of that stable past which in all likelihood will be the enduring future, long after these ephemeral fashions have passed away and are forgotten, manifests itself to an extravagant degree in the new Version of the American Bible Union. It needs only for a word to have the slightest suspicion of age upon it, to have ceased but for the moment to be the current money of the street and the market-place, and there is nothing for it but peremptory exclusion. 'To better,' 'to chasten,' 'to faint,' 'to quicken,' 'chastening,' 'conversation,' 'saints,' 'straitly,' 'wherefore,' 'wroth,' with hundreds more, are thrust out, avowedly upon this plea; and modern substitutes introduced in their room. I can fancy no more effectual scheme for debasing the Version, nor, if it were admitted as the law of revision, for the lasting impoverishment of the English tongue. One can only liken it to a custom of some barbarous tribes, who, as soon as their kindred begin to show tokens of old age, bury them alive, or by some other means put them out of the way. These, however, might plead that their old would grow older still, more useless, more burdensome, every day. It is very far from faring so with the words which, on somewhat similar grounds, are forcibly dismissed. A multitude of these, often the most precious ones, after a period of semi-obsoleteness, of temporary withdrawal from

active service, enjoy a second youth, pass into free and unquestioned currency again; words

> 'whilom flourishing
> Pass now no more; but, banished from the court,
> Dwell with disgrace among the vulgar sort;
> And those which eld's strict doom did disallow,
> And damn for bullion, go for current now.'

But nothing would so effectually hinder this rejuvenescence as the putting a ban upon them directly they have passed out of common use; the resolution, that if they have withdrawn for ever so brief a time from the every-day service of men, they shall never be permitted to return to it again. A true lover of his native tongue will adopt another course:

> Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet,

and valuable words which are in danger of disappearing, he, instead of bidding to be gone, will do his best to detain or recover.

Who would now affirm of the verb 'to hallow' that it is even obsolescent? yet Wallis two hundred years ago observed—'it has almost gone out of use' (fere desuevit). It would be difficult to find an example of the verb 'to advocate' between Milton and Burke. Franklin, an admirable master of the homelier English style, considered the word to have sprung up during his own residence in Europe. In this, indeed, he was mistaken; it had only during this period revived. Johnson says of 'jeopardy' that it is a 'word not now in use;' which certainly is no longer true.[1] He

[1] In like manner La Bruyère (*Caractères*, c. 14) laments the extinction of a large number of French words which he

affirms the same of the verb 'to succumb;' 'womanhood' he declares to be obsolete. He has never heard of 'to smoulder,' but as he recognizes the participle 'smouldering,' guesses there must be such a verb.

I am persuaded that in easiness of being understood, Chaucer is not merely as near, but much nearer, to us than he was felt by Dryden and his contemporaries to be to them. They make exactly the same sort of complaints, only in still stronger language, about his archaic phraseology and the obscurities it involves, which we still sometimes hear at the present day. Thus in the *Preface* to his *Tales from Chaucer*, having quoted some not very difficult lines from the earlier poet whom he is modernizing, Dryden proceeds: 'You have here a specimen of Chaucer's language, which is so obsolete that his sense is scarce to be understood.'[1] And Fuller to the same effect: 'In a

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names. At least half of these have now free course in the language, as 'valeureux,' 'haineux,' 'peineux,' 'fructueux,' 'mensonger,' 'coutumier,' 'vantard,' 'courtois,' 'jovial,' 'fétoyer,' 'larmoyer,' 'verdoyer;' and may every one be found in Littré's great *Dictionary*. A genuine scholar such as Adelung regarded in 1789 the following German words as archaisms which it would be advantageous to set aside, as not serviceable any more: 'eiland,' 'entsprechen,' 'fehde,' 'heimath,' 'landsknecht,' 'mahl,' 'obhut,' 'reissig,' 'schlacht,' 'sippschaft;' while the following he counted as unacceptable novelties: 'beabsichtigen,' 'entgegnen,' 'ingrimm,' 'gemeinplatz,' 'liebevoll.' In Grimm's *Wörterbuch* 'gebilde,' forgotten for centuries, and absent from all modern Dictionaries, reappears, and vindicates its right to reappear.

[1] But for all this Dryden thought him worth understanding. Not so Addison. In a rapid review of English poets he accounts

century of years languages grow strangers to themselves; as now an Englishman needs an interpreter to understand Chaucer's English.' Nor did it fare thus with Chaucer only. These wits and poets of the Court of Charles the Second were conscious of a wider gulf between themselves and the Elizabethan era, separated from them by little more than fifty years, than any of which *we* are aware, separated from it by two centuries more. It was not merely that they felt themselves more removed from its tone and spirit; it is easy to understand how this should be;[1] but they evidently found more difficulty and strangeness in the language of Spenser and Shakespeare than we find at this day; it seemed to them far more crowded with obsolete terms than it seems to us at the present. Only so can one explain the tone in which they are accustomed to speak of these worthies of the near past. I must again cite Dryden, the truest representative for good and for

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'the merry bard'—this in his characteristic epithet for the most pathetic poet in the language—as one the whole significance of whose antiquated verse has for ever passed away:

> 'But age has rusted what the poet writ,
> Worn out his language, and obscured his wit.
> In vain he jests in his unpolished strain,
> And tries to make his readers laugh in vain.'

[1] Addison takes credit for this inability of his own age to find any satisfaction in that which Spenser sung for the delight of his:

> 'But now the mystic tale, that pleased of yore,
> Can charm our understanding age no more;
> The long-spun allegories fulsome grow,
> While the dull moral lies too plain below.'

evil of literary England during the later decades of the seventeenth century. Of Spenser, whose death was separated from his own birth by little more than thirty years, he speaks as of one belonging to quite a different epoch, counting it much to say, 'notwithstanding his obsolete language, he is still intelligible; at least after a little practice.'[1] Nay, hear his judgment of Shakespeare himself, so far as language is concerned: 'It must be allowed to the present age that the tongue in general is so much refined since Shakespeare's time, that many of his words and more of his phrases are scarce intelligible. And of those which we understand, some are ungrammatical, others coarse; and his whole style is so pestered with figurative expressions, that it is as affected as it is obscure.'[2]

Sometimes a word emerges from the lower strata of society, not indeed new, but yet to most seeming new, its very existence having been forgotten by the larger number of those speaking the language; although it must have somewhere lived on upon the lips of men. Thus, since the gold-fields of California and Australia have been opened, we hear often of a 'nugget' of

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[1] *Preface to Juvenal.*

[2] *Preface to Troilus and Cressida.* In justice to Dryden, and lest he should seem to speak poetic blasphemy, it should not be forgotten that 'pestered,' which has no connexion with 'pest,' had in his time no such offensive a sense as it has now. It meant no more than inconveniently crowded (see my *Select Glossary*, s. v.); and still it is wonderful to hear him saying, as he does elsewhere, that 'Shakespeare had rather written happily, than knowingly or justly,' when indeed his art is quite as marvellous as his nature, supposing it possible to distinguish the one from the other.

gold; being a lump of the pure metal; and it has been debated whether the word is a new birth altogether, or a popular recasting of 'ingot.' It is most probably this last; and yet scarcely a recent one, framed for the present need, seeing that 'nugget,' or 'niggot' as it is spelt by them, occurs in our elder writers.[1] There can be little doubt of the identity of 'niggot' and 'nugget;' all the consonants, the *stamina* of a word, being the same; whilst that earlier form makes plausible the suggestion that 'nugget' is only 'ingot' a little disguised, since it wants nothing but the very common transposition of the first two letters to bring them to an almost absolute identity. 'To shunt,' an obscure provincialism before the era of railways, is now in everybody's mouth, or at any rate is understood by everybody, and has already acquired a secondary and figurative meaning.

There is another very fruitful source of increase in the vocabulary of a language. What was once one word separates into two, takes two forms, or even more, and each of these asserts an existence independent of the other. The impulse and suggestion to this is in general first given by differences in pronunciation, which are presently represented by differences in spelling; or it will sometimes happen that what at first were no more than precarious and arbi-

[1] Thus in North's *Plutarch's Lives*, p. 499: 'After the fire was quenched, they found in *niggots* of gold and silver mingled together, about a thousand talents;' and again, p. 323: 'There was brought a marvellous great mass of treasure in *niggots* of gold.'

trary variations in spelling come in the end to be regarded as words altogether distinct: they detach themselves from one another, not again to reunite; just as accidental varieties in fruits or flowers, produced by a happy chance, have permanently separated off, and settled into different kinds. They have each its own distinct domain of meaning, as by general agreement assigned to it; dividing between them the inheritance which before they held in common. No one who has not watched and catalogued these words as they have fallen under his notice, would believe how numerous they are.

Thus sometimes as the accent is placed on one syllable of a word or another, it comes to have different significations, and those so distinctly marked, that the separation may be regarded as complete. Examples of this are the following: 'dívers' and 'divérse;' 'cónjure' and 'conjúre;' 'ántic' and 'antíque;' 'húman' and 'humáne;' 'úrban' and 'urbáne;' 'géntle,' 'géntile,' and 'gentéel;' 'cústom' and 'costúme;' 'éssay' and 'assáy;' 'próperty' and 'propríety.' Or again a word is pronounced at full, or more shortly: thus 'spirit' and 'sprite;' 'blossom' and 'bloom;' 'courtesy' and 'curtsey;' 'nourish' and 'nurse;' 'personality' and 'personalty;' 'fantasy' and 'fancy;' 'triumph' and 'trump' (the *winning* card[1]); 'happily' and 'haply;' 'ordinance' and 'ordnance;' 'shallop' and 'sloop;' 'brabble' and 'brawl;' 'syrup' and 'shrub;' 'chandelier' and 'chandler;' 'balsam' and 'balm;' 'dame' and 'dam;' 'cape' and

[1] See Latimer's famous *Sermon on Cards*, where 'triumph' and 'trump' are interchangeably used.

'cap;' 'nighest' and 'next;' 'poesy' and 'posy;' 'manœuvre' and 'manure;' and, older probably than any of these, 'other' and 'or;'—or with the dropping of the first letter or letters: 'history' and 'story;' 'harbour' and 'arbour;' 'escheat' and 'cheat;' 'estate' and 'state;'—or with a dropping of the last syllable, as 'Britany' and 'Britain;' 'crony' and 'crone;'—or, without losing a syllable, with more or less stress laid on the close: 'regiment' and 'regimen;' 'corpse' and 'corps;' 'bite' and 'bit;' 'dame' and 'dam;' 'sire' and 'sir;' 'land' 'laund' and 'lawn;' 'suite' and 'suit;' 'swinge' and 'swing;' 'crash' and 'craze;' 'gulph' and 'gulp;' 'launch' and 'lance;' 'wealth' and 'weal;' 'stripe' and 'strip;' 'borne' and 'born;' 'glaze' and 'glass;' 'stave' and 'staff;' 'clothes' and 'cloths;' 'palatine' and 'paladin.' Or sometimes a slight internal vowel-change finds place, as between 'dent' and 'dint;' 'rant' and 'rent' (a ranting actor tears or *rends* a passion to tatters); 'creak' and 'croak;' 'fleet' and 'float;' 'lill' (Spenser) and 'loll;' 'reel' and 'roll;' 'cross' and 'cruise;' 'sleek' and 'slick;' 'sheen' and 'shine;' 'shriek' and 'shrike;' 'peck' and 'pick;' 'peak' 'pike' and 'pique' (thus 'the *pike* of Teneriffe,' in Browne's *Pastorals*); 'sneap' 'snip' and 'snub;' 'plat' and 'plot;' 'weald' and 'wold;' 'drip' and 'drop;' 'wreathe' and 'writhe;' 'spear' and 'spire' ('the last *spire* of grass,' South); 'trist' and 'trust;' 'band' 'bend' and 'bond;' 'cape' and 'cope;' 'tip' and 'top;' 'slant' and 'slent' (now obsolete); 'sweep' and 'swoop;' 'wrest' and 'wrist;' 'neb' and 'nib;' 'gad' (now surviving only in 'gadfly') and 'goad;' 'complement' and 'compliment;' 'spike' and 'spoke;'

'tamper' and 'temper;' 'spatter' and 'sputter;' 'flatter' and 'flutter;' 'ragged' and 'rugged;' 'strake' 'streak' and 'stroke;' 'snake' and 'sneak' (both crawl); 'deal' and 'dole;' 'gaggle' (now commonly spelt 'cackle') and 'giggle;' 'scrabble' and 'scribble;' 'flacker' (now obsolete) and 'flicker;' 'gourmand' and 'gormand;' 'sip' 'sop' 'soup' and 'sup;' 'prank' and 'prink' (now obsolete); 'clack' 'click' and 'clock;' 'knap' 'knop' and 'knob;' 'tetchy' and 'touchy;' 'sauce' and 'souse;' 'spill' and 'spoil;' 'halt' and 'hold;' 'vendor' and 'vender;' 'visitor' and 'visiter;' 'neat' and 'nett;' 'steed' and 'stud;' 'than' and 'then;'[1] 'grits' and 'grouts;' 'spirt' and 'sprout;' 'brunt' and 'burnt;' 'cask' and 'casque;' 'preen' and 'prune;' 'master' and 'mister;' 'parson' and 'person;' 'travel' and 'travail;' 'troth' and 'truth;' 'pennon' and 'pinion;' 'quail' and 'quell;' 'metal' and 'mettle;' 'ballad' and 'ballet;' 'chagrin' and 'shagreen;' 'can' and 'ken;' 'Francis' and 'Frances;'[2] 'chivalry' and 'cavalry;' 'elf' and 'oaf;' 'thrash' and 'thresh;' 'lose' and 'loose;' 'taint' and 'tint;' 'mode' and 'mood;' 'road' and 'raid.' Sometimes the difference is mainly or entirely in the initial consonants, as between 'phial' and 'vial;' 'bottle' and 'pottle;'

[1] On these words see a good discussion in *English Retraced*, Cambridge, 1862.

[2] The appropriating of 'Frances' to women and 'Francis' to men is quite modern; it was formerly as often Sir Frances Drake as Sir Francis, while Fuller (*Holy State*, b. iv. c. 14) speaks of Francis Brandon, eldest *daughter* of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; and see Ben Jonson, *New Inn*, act ii. sc. 1.

'jacinth' and 'hyacinth;' 'bother' and 'pother;' 'bursar' and 'purser;' 'thrice' and 'trice;' 'fitch' and 'vetch;' 'strinkle' (now obsolete) and 'sprinkle;' 'scabby' and 'shabby;' 'scatter' and 'shatter;' 'scuffle' and 'shuffle;' 'chattel' and 'cattle;' 'chant' and 'cant;' 'shrub' and 'scrub;' 'champaign' and 'campaign;' 'zealous' and 'jealous;' 'channel' and 'kennel;' 'quay' and 'key;' 'fat' and 'vat;' 'fan' and 'van;' 'thrill' 'trill' and 'drill;'—or in the consonants in the middle of the word, as between 'cancer' and 'canker;' 'nipple' and 'nibble;' 'tinkle' and 'tingle;' 'tittle' and 'title;' 'latter' and 'later;' 'price' and 'prize;' 'consort' and 'concert;' while sometimes the change embraces an internal consonant as well, as in 'pipe' and 'fife.'

Or a word is spelt now with a final *k* and now with a final *ch*; out of this variation two different words have been formed, with, it may be, other slight differences superadded; thus is it with 'poke' and 'poach;' 'dyke' and 'ditch;' 'stink' and 'stench;' 'prick' and 'pritch' (now obsolete); 'milk' and 'milch;' 'brake' 'break' 'breach' and 'broach;' 'lace' and 'latch;' 'stick' and 'stitch;' 'lurk' and 'lurch;' 'bank' and 'bench;' 'stark' and 'starch;' 'wake' and 'watch;' 'smack' and 'smatch.' So too 't' and 'd' are easily exchanged; as in 'clod' and 'clot;' 'vend' and 'vent;' 'sad' and 'set;' 'card' and 'chart;' 'medley' and 'motley.' Or there has grown up, beside the more accurate pronunciation, a popular as well; and this in the end has formed itself into another word; thus it is with 'puck' (now obsolete) and 'pug;' 'alembic' and 'limbeck;'

'achievement' and 'hatchment;' 'housewife' and 'hussy;' 'grandfather' and 'gaffer;' 'grandmother' and 'gammer;' 'hanaper' and 'hamper;' 'puisne' and 'puny;' 'patron' and 'pattern;' 'tight' and 'taut;' 'etiquette' and 'ticket;' 'eremite' and 'hermit;' 'spital' (hospital) and 'spittle' (house of correction); 'accompt' and 'account;' 'polity' and 'policy;' 'donjon' and 'dungeon;' 'nestle' and 'nuzzle' (now obsolete); 'Egyptian' and 'gipsy' 'gipsen' (Spenser) being the middle term between these; 'Bethlehem' and 'Bedlam;' 'Mongol' and 'Mogul;' 'Pharaoh' and 'faro' (a game so called because the winning card bore the semblance of the Egyptian king); 'exemplar' and 'sampler;' 'procuracy' and 'proxy;' 'dolphin' and 'dauphin;' 'iota' and 'jot;' 'synodsman' and 'sidesman;' 'astonied' and 'stunned;' 'one' and 'an.'

Other changes cannot perhaps be reduced exactly under any of these heads; as between 'ounce' and 'inch;' 'errant' and 'arrant;' 'slack' and 'slake;' 'twang' and 'tang;' 'cross' and 'crutch;' 'valet' and 'varlet;' 'smack' and 'smatch;' 'crash' and 'craze;' 'simper' and 'simmer;' 'slow' and 'slough;' 'bow' and 'bough;' 'hurl' and 'whirl;' 'hew' and 'hough;' 'dies' and 'dice' (both plurals of 'die'); 'plunge' and 'flounce;' 'knop' and 'knob;' 'egg' and 'edge;' 'staff' and 'stave;' 'scull' 'school' and 'shoal;' 'frith' and 'firth;' 'wretchlessness' and 'recklessness;' 'benefit' and 'benefice.'[1] Or, it may

[1] A singularly characteristic trait of Papal policy once turned upon the fact that 'beneficium' contained in itself both 'benefice' and 'benefit.' Pope Adrian the Fourth writing to Frederick

be, the difference is in the spelling only, appreciable by the eye, but escaping altogether the ear. It is thus with 'draft' and 'draught;' 'plain' and 'plane;' 'coign' and 'coin;' 'flower' and 'flour;' 'check' and 'cheque;' 'straight' and 'strait;' 'ton' and 'tun;' 'road' and 'rode;' 'throw' and 'throe;' 'wrack' and 'rack;' 'berth' and 'birth;' 'gait' and 'gate;' 'hoard' and 'horde;' 'knoll' and 'noll;' 'chord' and 'cord;' 'drachm' and 'dram;' 'license' and 'licence;' 'sergeant' and 'serjeant;' 'mask' and 'masque;' 'villain' and 'villein;' 'discreet' and 'discrete.'

Now, if you will put the matter to proof, you will find in almost every case that there has attached itself to the different forms of a word a modification of meaning more or less sensible, that each has won an independent sphere of meaning, which remains peculiarly its own. Thus 'divers' implies numerical difference only, but 'diverse' difference with unlikeness; thus the several

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Barbarossa to complain of certain conduct of his, reminded the Emperor that he had placed the imperial crown upon his head, and would willingly have conferred even greater 'beneficia' upon him than this. Had this been allowed to pass, it would no doubt have been afterwards appealed to as an admission on the Emperor's part that he held the Empire as a feud or fief (for 'beneficium' was then the technical word for this, though the meaning has much narrowed since) from the Pope—the very point in dispute between them. The word was indignantly repelled by the Emperor and the whole German nation, whereupon the Pope appealed to the etymology, that 'beneficium' was but 'bonum factum,' and protested that he meant no more than to remind the Emperor of the various 'benefits' which he had done him (Neander, *Kirch. Geschichte*, vol. v. p. 318).

Evangelists narrate the same event in 'divers' manners, but not in 'diverse.' 'Antique' is ancient, but 'antic' is this same ancient regarded as overlived, out of date, and so in our days grotesque, ridiculous; and then, with a dropping of the reference to age, the grotesque or ridiculous alone. 'Human' is what every man is, 'humane' is what every man ought to be; for Johnson's suggestion that 'humane' is from the French feminine 'humaine,' and 'human' from the masculine, is contrary to all analogies of language. 'Ingenious' expresses a mental, 'ingenuous' a moral excellence. A gardener 'prunes' or trims his trees, properly indeed his *vines* (pro*vigner*), birds 'preen' or trim their feathers. 'Bloom' is a finer and more delicate efflorescence even than 'blossom;' thus the 'bloom,' but not the 'blossom,' of the cheek. It is now always 'clots' of blood and 'clods' of earth; a 'float' of timber, and a 'fleet' of ships; men 'vend' wares, and 'vent' complaints. 'A curtsey' is one, and that merely an external, manifestation of 'courtesy.' Nor would it be hard, in almost every pair or larger group of words which I have adduced, to detect shades of meaning which one word has obtained, and not the other.[1]

There is another very sensible gain which the lan-

[1] The same happens in other languages. Thus in Greek ἀνάθεμα and ἀνάθημα both signify that which is devoted, though in very different senses, to the higher powers; θάρσος, boldness, and θράσος, temerity, were at first but different spellings of the same word; so too γρῖπος and γρῖφος, ἔθος and ἦθος, βρύκω and βρύχω: and probably ὀβελὸς and ὀβολὸς, τεῖχος and τοῖχος, σορὸς and σωρός. In Latin 'penna' and 'pinna' differ only in form, and signify alike a 'wing;' while yet 'penna'

guage has made, although this of a different kind altogether. For a long time past there has been a tendency to bring the component parts of the words which we use into linguistic harmony, where this is wanting; so that the body of a word shall not any longer be Latin, with a Saxon prefix or affix attached to it; or *vice versâ* the body of a word Saxon, and the prefix or affix or both Latin. This homogeneous character was evidently wanting in words such as 'unsatiable,' 'unglorious,' 'undiscreet,' 'uncredible,' 'unvisible,' 'untolerable,' 'unreligious' (all in Wiclif); which have now severally given place to 'insatiable,' 'inglorious,' 'indiscreet,' and the rest; while 'untimely,' 'unwitting,' and many more, in which there existed no such dis-

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has come to be used for the wing of a bird, 'pinna' (the diminutive, 'pinnaculum,' giving us 'pinnacle') for that of a building; so it is with 'Thrax' a Thracian, and 'Threx' a gladiator; with 'codex' and 'caudex;' 'forfex' and 'forceps;' 'anticus' and 'antiquus;' 'celeber' and 'creber;' 'infacetus' and 'inficetus;' 'mulgeo' and 'mulceo;' 'providentia,' 'prudentia' and 'provincia;' 'columen' and 'culmen;' 'coïtus' and 'cœtus;' 'ægrimonia' and 'ærumna;' 'Lucina' and 'luna;' 'cohors' and 'cors;' 'navita' and 'nauta;' 'vertex' and 'vortex.' It is the same in German with 'rechtlich' and 'redlich;' 'schlecht' and 'schlicht;' 'golden' and 'gulden;' 'höfisch' and 'hübsch;' 'ahnden' and 'ahnen' (see a very interesting notice in Grimm's *Wörterbuch*); 'biegsam' and 'beugsam;' 'fürsehung' and 'vorsehung;' 'deich' and 'teich;' 'trotz' and 'trutz;' 'born' and 'brunnen;' 'athem' and 'odem:' in French with 'harnois,' the armour or 'harness' of a soldier, and 'harnais' of a horse; with 'foible' and 'faible;' with 'Zéphire' and 'zéphir;' with 'chaire' and 'chaise,' the latter having been at the first nothing else but a vicious and affected pronunciation of the former, and with many more.

agreement between the parts, remain as they were. In the same way 'unpure' (Barnes) has been replaced by 'impure,' 'unfirm' (Shakespeare) by 'infirm,' 'uneffectual' (the same) by 'ineffectual,' 'unmoveable' (Authorized Version) by 'immoveable,' 'untemperate' (the same) by 'intemperate,' 'unnoble' (Drayton) by 'ignoble,' 'unimitable' (Sidney) by 'inimitable,' 'unmeasurable' (North) by 'immeasurable,' 'unreverent' (the same) by 'irreverent,' 'unvincible' (the same) by 'invincible,' 'uncapable' (Hooker) by 'incapable,' 'unpatient' (Coverdale) by 'impatient,' 'unpartial' (Jackson) by 'impartial,' 'undecent' (Cowley) by 'indecent,' 'uncessant' (Milton) by 'incessant,' 'unactive' (the same) by 'inactive,' 'unproperly' (Ascham) by 'improperly.' 'Unpossible,' the correct reading of our Authorized Version at Matt. xvii. 20; xix. 26, and throughout, has been silently changed into 'impossible;' 'unperfect,' however, still remains (Ps. cxxxix. 16). In the same way 'unhonest' (Holland) has given way to 'dishonest;' and 'unhonestly' (Coverdale) to 'dishonestly,' 'misorderly' (the same) to 'disorderly,' 'miscontent' (Golding) to 'discontent.' Here and there, but very rarely, the tendency has been in the opposite direction—to create these anomalies, not to remove them. Thus Shakespeare's 'incertain' has given place to 'uncertain,' his 'infortunate' to 'unfortunate,' while Milton's 'inchastity' (prose), 'ingrateful,' to the less correct 'unchastity,' 'ungrateful;' 'immusical' (Jackson) to 'unmusical,' 'illimited' (Field) to 'unlimited.'

And as with the prefix, so also it has fared with the suffix. A large group of our Latin words for a long while had not a Latin, but a Saxon termination.

We have several of these in the Bible and in the Prayer Book; 'pureness,' for example, 'frailness,' 'disquietness,' 'perfectness,' and 'simpleness.' 'Pureness' may perhaps be said still to survive; but for the others we have substituted 'frailty' (recalled it, we may say, for it was already in *Piers Plowman*), 'disquietude,' 'perfection,' 'simplicity.' The same has happened with a multitude of others; 'jolliness' (Chaucer) has given way to 'jollity;' 'poverness' (*Piers Plowman*) to 'poverty,' 'gayness' (Shakespeare) to 'gaiety,' 'subtleness' (Sidney) to 'subtlety,' 'fertileness' (the same) to 'fertility,' 'divineness' (Bacon) to 'divinity,' 'ableness' (Spenser) to 'ability,' 'ferventness' (Coverdale) to 'fervency,' 'cruelness' (Golding) to 'cruelty,' 'desolateness' (Andrewes) to 'desolation;' 'desperateness' (Fuller) to 'desperation;' 'partialness' (Frith) to 'partiality;' 'spiritualness,' 'vainness,' 'activeness,' 'realness,' 'vulgarness,' 'immoralness' (all in Rogers), severally to 'spirituality,' 'vanity,' 'activity,' 'reality,' 'vulgarity,' 'immorality;' 'stableness' (Coverdale) to 'stability;' 'doubleness' and 'graveness' (Shakespeare) to 'duplicity' and 'gravity;' 'chasteness' (Chapman) to 'chastity,' 'ferventness' (Coverdale) to 'fervency,' 'unequalness' (J. Taylor) to 'inequality,' 'solemnness' (Shakespeare) to 'solemnity,' 'dejectedness' (Bishop Hall) to 'dejection,' 'insensibleness' (Manton) to 'insensibility,' 'splendidness,' 'immutableness,' 'famousness' (all in H. More) to 'splendour,' 'immutability,' 'fame,' 'impureness' (Milton, prose) to 'impurity.' 'Furiousness,' 'terribleness,' 'irresistibleness' (Fuller), 'valiantness,' 'insatiableness,' 'rigorousness,' 'generousness' (J. Beaumont) have all been felt to be words ill put together, and have

silently been dropped; nor would it be difficult to add immensely to this list. We might, I think, very well have consented to want 'inerrancy,' used by Mr. Gladstone as a variation of 'infallibility;' while yet it is certainly an improvement on 'inerrableness,' employed by some of our elder divines. Thus too, though we have not at this day altogether rejected words in which the French termination 'able' is combined with a Saxon root, as 'unspeakable' and the like, still there has been an evident disposition among the writers and speakers of English to diminish their number. There were once far more of these, as 'findable,' 'unlackable,' 'ungainsayable' (all in Pecock), 'matchable' (Spenser), 'praisable' (Lord Berners), 'mockable' (Shakespeare), 'woundable' (Fuller), 'brookable' (North country), 'speakable' (Milton), than there are now. 'The rejection of these hybrid words,' as has been well said,[1] 'from the modern vocabulary is curious, as an instance of the unconscious exercise of a linguistic instinct by the English people. The objection to such adjectives is their mongrel character, the root being Saxon, the termination Romanic; and it is an innate feeling of the incongruity of such alliances, not the speculative theories of philologists, which has driven so many of them out of circulation.'

But changes not unlike to those which I have just noted have come over words, where there was no such inducement arising from a sense of incongruity in their component parts; where, on the contrary, they

[1] Marsh, *Origin and History of the English Language*, 2nd *Series*, p. 475.

were already of one substance throughout. In these instances the language seems, so to say, to have hesitated for a while before making up its mind which suffix it would employ, and has often in later times rejected one which in earlier it appeared disposed to adopt, and in the stead of this adopted another. The suffix 'ness,' which, as we just now saw, has lost its hold on a great many Latin words, with which it certainly had no right to be joined, has more than made good these losses by gains in other directions. Many words that ended for a while in 'ship,' now end in 'ness,' as 'gladship' (*Ormulum*), 'idleship,' 'meekship,' 'mildship' (all in *Hali Meidenhad*), 'gentleship' (Ascham), 'goodship' (see Stratmann), 'guiltiship' (Geneva Bible); which are now severally 'gladness,' 'idleness,' 'meekness,' 'mildness,' 'gentleness,' 'goodness,' and 'guiltiness.' 'Cleanship' and 'cleanness' were *both* found in our Early English: but 'cleanness' has proved too strong for 'cleanship;' even as 'business' for 'busiship.' More numerous are those which, terminating once in 'head' or 'hood,' have finally settled down with 'ness;' such as 'wearihede,' 'holihede,' 'newhede,' 'godlihede,' 'swifthede,' 'greenhede,' 'vilehede,' 'bitterhed,' 'blisedhede' (all in *The Ayenbite*); 'giddihed' (Old English), 'wickedhed,' 'pensivehed,' 'lowlihed' (all in Chaucer); 'manlihed,' 'noblehed' (both in *The Tale of Melusine*); 'comlihed' (Gower), 'onehed,' 'worldlihood' (Pecock); 'fulsomehed,' 'fairhed' (both in *King Horn*); 'sinfulhed,' 'rightwisehed,' 'chasthed,' 'tamehed' (all in *The Story of Genesis*), 'wantonhed,' 'evenhood' (*Promptorium*); 'fulhed,' 'mightihed,' 'cursedhed,' 'filthehed,' 'drunkenhed,' 'nakedhed'

(all in Wiclif); 'heedlesshood,' 'seemlihed,' 'drearihed,' 'drowsihed,' 'livelihed,' 'goodlihed,' 'beastlihed' (all in Spenser). In place of these we have 'weariness,' 'holiness,' and so on with the rest.

Then, again, words not a few, once ending in 'head' or 'hood,' have relinquished this in favour of 'ship;' thus 'postlehead' (Wiclif), now 'apostleship,' 'disciplehood,' 'headhood' (both in Pecock), 'apprenticehood' (Shakespeare), have all done this. Others, but they are fewer, for 'hood' have taken 'dom;' thus 'Christenhood' (Pecock) is 'Christendom' now; 'thralhed' is 'thraldom.' 'Ric,' too, which survives only in 'bishopric,' has in like manner given way; 'heovenriche,' or kingdom of heaven, 'eortheric,' or kingdom of earth [*Ormulum*], and 'weorlderiche' (the same) having long since disappeared; while 'kingryke' (*Piers Plowman*) or 'kunneriche' (*Proclamation of Henry III.*) is 'kingdom' now. 'Ship' too has given way, though rarely, to 'dom;' thus 'heathenship' (Layamon) to 'heathendom.' Some other recent formations in 'dom,' as 'rascaldom,' 'devildom,' 'kitchendom' (Tennyson), 'folkdom,' to say nothing of 'prigdom,' 'pewdom,' and 'bumbledom,' attest that in this direction some life is stirring in our English still. As between 'head' and 'hood,' which are variations of the same form, 'hood' has seriously encroached on the domain once occupied by 'head.' I quote a few instances, 'childhed,' 'manhed,' 'womanhed,' 'bretherhed' (all in Chaucer); 'falsehed' (Tyndale), 'hardihed' 'widowhed' (Sibbald's *Glossary*); in all of which 'head' has now given way to 'hood.' I can adduce no instances in which the opposite tendency, 'head' taking the

place of 'hood,' has displayed itself. Then also many adjectives ending in 'ful' have changed this for 'ly' (= like); thus 'gastful,' 'loveful,' 'grisful' (all in Wiclif), are severally now 'ghastly,' 'lovely,' 'grisly.' I shall note elsewhere the extensive perishing of adjectives ending in 'some.' Many of these, however, still survive, but with another suffix—often with one which brings their component parts into linguistic accord with one another; thus 'humoursome' survives in 'humorous,' 'laboursome' in 'laborious,' 'clamoursome' in 'clamorous,' 'adventuresome' (this however has been revived by Keats), in 'adventurous;' or sometimes where no such motive of making the word all of one piece can be traced, as in 'hatesum,' which is now 'hateful,' 'friendsome,' which is now 'friendly,' 'mirksome' (Spenser), which is now 'murky,' and 'thoughtsome,' which is now 'thoughtful.' This chapter in the history of our language has hitherto attracted little or no attention. No complete catalogues of these words, so far as I know, have as yet been so much as attempted.

Let me trace, before this lecture comes to an end, the history of the rise of some words in the language, noting briefly the authors who first introduced them; the motives out of which their creation or adoption arose; the resistance which they met; the remonstrances which they succeeded in overbearing. It is a curious chapter in the history of the language, and even a few scattered contributions to it will not be without their value.

Sometimes a word has been created to supply an urgent want, to fill up a manifest gap in the language.

For example, that sin of sins, the undue love of self, with the postponing of the interests of all others to our own, being a sin as old as the Fall, had yet for a long time no word to express it in English. Help was first sought from the Greek, and 'philauty' (φιλαυτία) more than once put forward by our scholars, by J. Beaumont, for example, in his *Psyche*; but it found no popular acceptance. This failing, men turned to the Latin; one writer proposing to supply the want by calling the sin 'suicism,' and the man a 'suist,' as one seeking *his own* things ('sua'); but this met with no better success; and our ethical terminology was here still incomplete, till some of the Puritan divines, drawing on our native resources, devised 'selfish' and 'selfishness,' words to us seeming obvious enough, but which in fact are little more than two hundred years old. A passage in Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams* marks the rise of 'selfish,' and the quarter in which it rose: 'When they [the Presbyterians] saw that he was not *selfish* (it is a word of their own new mint),' &c.[1] In Whitlock's *Zootomia*,[2] there is another indication of its novelty: 'If constancy may be tainted with this *selfishness* (to use our *new wordings* of old and general actings).' It was Whitlock who in his *Grand Schismatic, or Suist Anatomized*, first puts forward the words 'suist' and 'suicism.'[3] 'Suicism' had not in his time the obvious objection of resembling 'suicide' too nearly, and

[1] Part II. p. 144.

[2] 1654, p. 364.

[3] 'Ichsucht,' a favourite word of Jean Paul, has altogether failed to find favour in German. I am not aware of any other writer who has used it.

being liable to be confused with it; for 'suicide' did not exist in the language till some twenty years later. Its coming up is marked by this protest in Phillips' *New World of Words*, 3rd edit., 1671 : 'Nor less to be exploded is the word "*suicide*," which may as well seem to participate of *sus* a sow, as of the pronoun *sui*.' In the *Index* to Jackson's *Works*, published two years later, it is still '*suicidium*'—'the horrid *suicidium* of the Jews at York.'[1]

It would be a manifest gain to possess a collection, as complete as the industry of the collectors could make it, of all the notices in our literature which serve as indications of the first appearance of words before unknown, in our written or spoken language. These notices are of the most various kinds. Sometimes they are protests and remonstrances, as that just quoted, against some novel word's introduction; sometimes they are gratulations at the same; while many, neither approving nor disapproving, merely state, or allow us to gather, the fact that a word is recent in our language. Many such notices are brought together in Richardson's *Dictionary*.[2] Neither are they

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[1] 'Suicide' is of later introduction into French. Génin (*Récréations Philol.* vol. i. p. 194) places it about the year 1738, and makes the Abbé Desfontaines its first sponsor. He is wrong, as is plain, in assuming that we borrowed it from the French, and that it did not exist in English till the middle of last century. The French complain that the fashion of suicide was borrowed from England. It is probable that the word was so.

[2] Thus one from Lord Bacon under 'essay;' from Swift under 'banter;' from Sir Thomas Elyot under 'mansuetude;'

wanting in *Todd's Johnson*. But the work is one which could only be accomplished by many scholars throwing into a common stock the results of their several studies.[1] Our Elizabethan dramatists would yield

from Lord Chesterfield under 'flirtation;' from *The Spectator*, No. 537, under 'caricature' ('those burlesque pictures which the Italians call caricaturas'); from Roger North under 'sham' (*Appendix*); from Dryden under 'mob,' 'philanthropy,' and 'witticism,' which last word Dryden claims for his own; from Evelyn under 'miss;' and from Milton under 'demagogue.'

[1] As a slight sample of what might be accomplished here by the joint contributions of many, let me throw together references to a few such passages, which have hardly found their way into our dictionaries. Thus add to that which Richardson has quoted on 'banter,' another from *The Tatler*, No. 230, marking the disfavour with which it was regarded at the first. On 'plunder' there are two instructive passages in Fuller's *Church History*, b. xi. §§ 4, 33; and b. ix. § 4; and one in Heylin's *Animadversions* thereupon, p. 196; on 'admiralty' see a note in Harington's *Ariosto*, b. xix.; on 'maturity' Sir Thomas Elyot's *Governor*, i. 22; and on 'industry' the same, i. 23; on 'neophyte,' which made its first appearance in the Rheims Bible, a notice in Fulke's *Defence of the English Bible*, Parker Society's edition, p. 586, where he says 'neophyte is neither Greek, Latin, nor English;' on 'fanatic' a passage in Fuller, *Mixt Contemplations on these Times*, § 50; and another in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, book x. § 82; on 'panorama,' and marking its recent introduction (it is not in Johnson), a passage in Pegge's *Anecdotes of the English Language*, first published in 1803, but my reference is to the edition of 1814, p. 306. On 'accommodate,' and supplying a date for its first coming into popular use, see Shakespeare's *2 Henry IV.* act iii. sc. 2; 'one of the perfumed words of the time' Ben Jonson calls it; on 'shrub,' Junius' *Etymologicon*, s. v. 'syrup;' on 'cajole' and 'sentiment' ('vox nuper civitate donata'), Skinner, s. vv., in his *Etymologicon*; on 'opera,' Evelyn's *Memoirs and Diary*, 1827, vol. i. pp. 189, 190; on 'umbrella,' Torriano's *Italian*

ample booty here; even the worthless plays of Charles the Second's time would yield something. Early

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Proverbs, 1666, p. 58: 'ombrella is a certain canopy that in Italy we use to shelter ourselves with from the sun and the rain;' see also Florio's *Montaigne*, p. 549: 'no weather is to me so contrary as the scorching heat of the parching sun; for these umbrels, or riding canopies, which the Italians use, do more weary the arms than ease the head.' North (*Plutarch's Lives*, p. 469) speaks of 'fencers at unrebated foils whom the Romans call *gladiatores*.' 'Starvation' may have been an old word in Scotland, but it was unknown in England until used by Mr. Dundas, the first Lord Melville, therefore called 'Starvation Dundas,' in a debate on American affairs in 1775 (see *Letters of Horace Walpole and Mann*, vol. ii. p. 396, and Pegge's *Anecdotes of the English Language*, 1814, p. 38). We learn from a protest in *The Spectator*, No. 165, that 'pontoon,' 'fascine,' 'to reconnoitre,' were in 1704 novelties, which under the influence of the frequent warlike bulletins were creeping into English. From Horace Walpole, writing in 1755, we learn that 'cabriolet' was in his time purely a French word. He speaks of 'la fureur des cabriolets, anglicè one horse chairs.' Cowper (1781) uses 'superannuation,' but using wonders if there be such a word. Certainly he employs it not as we do now, but as signifying decrepitude through age. The verb 'to militate' is not in Johnson's *Dictionary*, and from a passage in Boswell, p. 656, Croker's edition, 1847, it is evident it was in his estimate at once new and affected. 'Avoid quaint terms as "originate,"' is John Wesley's advice to his preachers. Bentham in 1780, using 'international,' observes, 'the word, it must be acknowledged, is a new one, though it is hoped sufficiently analogous and intelligible.' It cannot have made any signal fortune at once, for seventeen years later, in 1797, he still describes it as 'new, though not inexpressive;' it is of his own coining, and deserves the welcome which it has obtained. In Barlow's *Columbiad*, published in 1807, those on this side of the Atlantic first made acquaintance with the verb 'to utilize;' in a review of the poem in the *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1809, p. 25,

classical scholars like Sir Thomas Elyot, who wrote when Latin words, good, bad, and indifferent, were pouring into the language like a flood, and who from time to time passed their judgment on these; the early translators, Protestant and Roman Catholic, of the Bible, who when they had exhausted more serious invective, fell foul of one another's English, and charged each other with bringing in new and un-English words; the *Spectator*, the *Tatler*, the *Guardian*, and even the second and third-rate imitations of these, might all be consulted with advantage. Familiar letters, as those of Gray or Cowper, would yield something. Indeed it is hard to say beforehand in what unexpected quarter notices of the kind might not be met with.

A collection such as this which I imagine should include passages which supply *implicit* evidence for the non-existence of a word up to a certain date. It may be urged that it is difficult, nay, often impossible, to prove a negative; yet when Bolingbroke wrote as follows, it is reasonably certain that 'isolated' did not exist in our language: 'The events we are witnesses of in the course of the longest life, appear to us very often original, unprepared, signal, and *unrelative*: if I may use such a word for want of a better in English.

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there is an earnest, but as it has proved an ineffectual, remonstrance against it. 'Millennial' comes there, as an American novelty, under the same condemnation; but this novelty it is not; Henry More continually employs it. 'Crass,' too, which the same Reviewer styles 'radically and entirely new,' is employed by him, by Jeremy Taylor and by Cudworth. In a letter to Lord Macaulay Lady Holland protests against 'influential,' which he had employed.

In French I would say *isolés.*'[1] Compare Lord Chesterfield, in a letter to Bishop Chenevix, of date March 12, 1767: 'I have survived almost all my contemporaries, and as I am too old to make new acquaintances, I find myself *isolé.*' 'Isolated,' says the *British Critic*, Oct. 1800, 'is not English, and we trust never will be.' Fuller would have scarcely spoken of a 'meteor of foolish fire,'[2] if 'ignis fatuus,' which has now quite put out 'firedrake,' the older name for these meteors, had not, when he wrote, been still strange to the language, or quite recent in it. So too when Sir Walter Raleigh spoke of 'strange visions which are also called *panici terrores*,'[3] it is tolerably plain that 'panic' was not yet recognized among us. The use now of 'biland,' now of 'demy-isle' by Holland, makes it at least likely that 'peninsula' had not yet been adopted into English. In like manner when the same author, translating Pliny's elaborate account of the sculptors and sculpture of antiquity, never once uses the word 'sculptor,' but always 'imager' instead, we feel tolerably sure that 'sculptor' had not yet come into existence. The use of 'noctambulones' by Donne makes me pretty certain that in his time 'somnambulist' had not been put together; of 'engastrimythi' by Holland, that 'ventriloquist' was still unknown; not indeed but that it is quite possible that for a little while the words should have existed side by side, and contended which should live and which die. When Hacket[4] speaks of 'the *cimici*

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[1] *Notes and Queries*, No. 226. [2] *Comm. on Ruth*, p. 38.
[3] *Hist of the World*, iii. 5, 8.
[4] *Life of Archbishop Williams*, vol. ii. p. 182.

in our bedsteads,' these unsavoury insects had scarcely appropriated to themselves the name which now they bear. When the anonymous annotator on Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* speaks of 'ethice' (*ἠθίκη*), we conclude that 'ethics' had not yet got a footing in the language. So, too, it is tolerably certain that 'amphibious' was not yet English, when one writes in (1618): 'We are like those creatures called *ἀμφίβια*, which live in water or on land.' Fuller, somewhat later, likens Edward III., as active on both elements, to an 'amphibion.' *Ζωολογία*, as the title of an English book published in 1649, makes it clear that 'zoology' was not yet in our vocabulary, as *ζωόφυτον* (Jackson) proves the same for 'zoophyte,' *ἐκλεκτικοί* (Rust;[1] compare 'eclectici' in Fuller) for 'eclectics,' *εὐφημισμός* (Jeremy Taylor) for 'euphemism,' *θεοκρατία* (the same) for 'theocracy,' *ἄθεοι* (Ascham) for 'atheists,' *ἐφήμεροι* (Cowley) for 'ephemerals,' and *πολύθεϊσμος* (Gell; it is a word of his own coining) for 'polytheism.'[2]

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[1] *Funeral Sermon on Jeremy Taylor.*

[2] One precaution, let me observe, would be necessary in the collecting, or rather in the adopting, of any statements about the newness of a word—for the statements themselves, even when erroneous, should be noted—namely, that no one's affirmation ought to be accepted simply and at once as to this novelty, seeing that all here are liable to error. Thus more words than one which Sir Thomas Elyot indicates as new in his time, 'magnanimity' for example (*The Governor*, ii. 14), are frequent in Chaucer. 'Sentiment,' which Skinner affirmed to have only recently, in his own time, obtained the rights of English citizenship, continually recurs in the same. Ascham (*The School Master*, p. 13, ed. 1863) evidently supposes that he is the first to put 'heady' and 'brainsick,' 'fit and proper words' as he

It is not merely new words, but new uses of old ones, which should thus be noted, with the time of their first coming up. Thus Sir John Davies' epigram 'Of a Gull' tells us when this 'new term,' as he calls it, was first transferred from foolish birds to foolish

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declares them, into circulation; which assuredly was not the case; 'heady,' indeed, is in Golding's *Ovid*. Wotton, using 'character,' would imply that it was a comparative novelty; he will use it, he says, because 'the word hath gotten already some entertainment among us' (*Survey of Education*, p. 321); it is of constant recurrence in Spenser, and is employed by Wiclif. Dryden in a note to his translation of the *Æneid*, defends the verb 'to falsify,' and seems much pleased with the thought that it is of his own invention. It is found in our English Bible (Amos viii. 5), in Browne's *Pastorals*, and in others. A correspondent of Sir William Jones, writing in 1781, condemns 'replete' as an objectionable novelty; it may be found in Wiclif's Bible (Phil. iv. 18); in the earlier play of *King John* ('My life "replete" with rage and tyranny'), and in Spenser. Charles Boyle, in the controversy on the *Epistles of Phalaris*, in which he so unluckily engaged ('impar congressus Achilli'), excepts against Bentley's use, among other words, of the following, 'concede,' 'idiom,' 'putid,' 'repudiate,' 'timid,' and 'vernacular;' 'every one of which,' Bentley replies, 'was in print before I used them, and most of them before I was born' (*Preface*, p. 54). Gray actually believed that Dryden had invented 'array,' 'to furbish' (both in our English Bible), 'crone' (in Chaucer), 'disarray,' 'mood,' 'roundelay' (all in Spenser), 'beldam,' 'beverage,' 'trim,' 'wayward' (all in Shakespeare). Cowper writing in 1793 speaks of 'to accredit' as a 'new diplomatic term.' It is used by Skelton in his version of *Don Quixote*. On 'liable' Richardson (*Supplement*) observes—'a modern word introduced into Johnson by Todd.' It is found in *Samson Agonistes*, and used exactly as we use it. In *Notes and Queries*, No. 255, there is a serviceable catalogue of recent neologies in our speech, while yet at least half a dozen in the list have not the smallest right to be so considered.

men.[1] Or take the two following quotations, in proof that our use of 'edify' and 'edification' first obtained general currency among the Puritans; this from Oldham:

> 'The graver sort dislike all poetry,
> Which does not, as they call it, *edify*;'

and this from South: 'All being took up and busied, some in pulpits and some in tubs, in the grand work of preaching and holding forth, and that of *edification*, as the word then went,' &c. A passage from Miss Burney's *Cecilia*, published in 1782, shows that the use of 'ticket' for visiting card was then quite a novelty, and little better than slang. Here too the evidence may not be positive, but negative. Thus when I read in Fuller of 'that beast in the Brazile which in fourteen days goes no further than a man may throw a stone, called therefore by the Spaniards *pigritia*,' I am tolerably certain that the aï, as the natives call it, had not yet obtained among us the name of 'sloth,' which now it bears.

A few observations in conclusion on the deliberate introduction of words to supply felt omissions in a language, and the limits within which this or any other conscious interference with it is desirable or possible. Long before the time when a people begin to reflect upon their language, and to give an account to them-

[1] Of how many words of a character similar to this we should like to know the occasion and cause of their first obtaining that novel use which evidently they have obtained; as for example a 'macaroni,' a 'blood,' a 'mohawk,' a 'tarpaulin,' a 'promoter' (=an informer), or, to come nearer to our times, a 'lion,' a 'tiger,' a 'bore,' a 'salt,' a 'philistine.'

selves either of its merits or defects, it has been fixed as regards structure in immutable forms; the sphere in which any alterations or modifications, addition to it, or subtraction from it, deliberately devised and carried out, are possible, is very limited indeed. The great laws that rule it are so firmly established that almost nothing can be taken from it, which it has got; almost nothing added to it, which it has *not* got. It will travel indeed in certain courses of change; but it would be almost as easy for us to alter the course of a planet as to alter these. This is sometimes a subject of regret with those who see what appear to them manifest defects or blemishes in their language, and see at the same time ways by which, as they fancy, these could be remedied or removed. And yet this is well; since for once that these redressers of real or fancied wrongs, these suppliers of things lacking, would mend, we may be tolerably confident that ten times, probably a hundred times, they would mar; letting go what would better have been retained; retaining that which was overlived and out of date; and in many ways interfering with those processes of a natural logic, which in a living language are evermore working themselves out. The genius of a language, unconsciously presiding over all its transformations, and conducting them to definite issues, will prove a far truer and far safer guide, than the artificial wit, however subtle, of any single man, or of any association of men. For the genius of a language is the sense and inner conviction entertained by the mass of those who speak it, of what it ought to be, and of the methods by which it will most nearly approach its ideal perfection; and while a pair of eyes,

or half a dozen pairs of eyes, may see much, a million of eyes will certainly see more.

It is only with the words, and not with the forms and laws of a language, that any interference is possible. Something, indeed much, may here be accomplished by wise masters, in the rejecting of that which deforms or mars, the allowing and adopting of that which will complete or enrich. Those who have set such objects before them, and who, knowing the limits of the possible, have not attempted to overleap these, have sometimes wrought no little good. No language affords a better proof and illustration of this than the German. When the patriotic Germans began to wake up to a consciousness of the enormous encroachments which foreign languages, Latin, French, and Italian, had made on their native tongue, the lodgements which these had therein effected,[1] and the danger which lay so near, that it should cease to be a language at all, but only a mingle-mangle, a motley patchwork of many tongues, without any unity or inner coherence, various Societies, at the beginning and during the course of the seventeenth century, set themselves earnestly to the task of recovering what was lost of their own, and at the same time expelling, in part at least, what had intruded from abroad ; an endeavour crowned with excellent results.

But more effectual than these learned Societies were the efforts of single writers, several of whom in this merited eminently well of Germany and of the German tongue.[2] Numerous words now accepted by

[1] See on these my *Gustavus Adolphus in Germany*, 2nd edit. pp. 127–130.

[2] There is an admirable essay by Leibnitz with this view

the whole nation are yet of such recent introduction that it is possible to designate the writer who first substituted them for some affected Gallicism or pedantic Latinism. Thus to Lessing his fellow-countrymen owe the substitution of 'zartgefühl' for 'délicatesse,' of 'wesenheit' for 'essence.' It was he who suggested to the translator of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, 'empfindsam,' as a word which would correspond to our 'sentimental;' he too who recalled 'bieder,' with which every schoolboy is familiar now, from the forgetfulness of centuries. Voss (1786) first employed 'alterthümlich' for 'antik,' Winckelmann 'denkbild' for 'idee.' Wieland was the author or reviver of a multitude of excellent words, for some of which he had to do earnest battle at the first; such were 'seligkeit,' 'anmuth,' 'entzückung,' 'festlich,' 'entwirren,' with many more. But no one was so zealous for the expelling from the temple of German speech of unworthy intruders as Campe, author of the well-known Dictionary. For 'maskerade,' he was fain to substitute 'larventanz,' for 'ballet' 'schautanz,' for 'lauvine' 'schneesturz,' for 'detachement' 'abtrab,' for 'electricität' 'reibfeuer.' It was a novelty when Büsching called his great work on geography 'Erdbeschreibung' (1754) instead of 'Geographie;' while 'schnellpost' for 'diligence,' 'zerrbild' for 'caricatur,' are also of recent introduction. Of 'wörterbuch' itself Jacob Grimm tells us he can find no example dating earlier than 1719. In Dutch the same pro-

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(*Opera*, vol. vi. part ii. pp. 6–51) in French and German, with this title, *Considérations sur la Culture et la Perfection de la Langue Allemande.*

cess has gone forward. 'Schoonsicht' has been substituted for 'belvedere,' 'heelmeester' for 'chirurg,' and so on.

Some of these reformers, it must be owned, proceeded with more zeal than knowledge, while others did what in them lay to make the whole movement absurd—even as there ever hang on the skirts of a worthy movement, be it in literature or politics or higher things yet, some who by extravagance and excess contribute their little all to bring ridicule and contempt upon it. Thus in the reaction against foreign interlopers, and in the zeal to rid the language of them, some would have disallowed words consecrated by more than centuries of use; thus Campe, who in the main did such good service here, was fain to replace 'apostel' by 'lehrbote;' or they understood so little what words deserved to be called foreign, that they would fain have gotten rid of such words as these, 'vater,' 'mutter,' 'wein,' 'fenster,' 'meister,' 'kelch;'[1] the three former belonging to the Teutonic dialects by exactly the same right as they do to the Latin and the Greek; while the other three have been naturalized so long that to propose at this day to expel them is as though, having passed an Alien Act for the banishment of all foreigners, we should proceed to include under that name, and drive from the kingdom, the descendants of the French Protestants who found refuge here when Rochelle was taken, or even of the Flemings who came over in the time of our Edwards. One

[1] Fuchs, *Zur Geschichte und Beurtheilung der Fremdwörter im Deutschen*, Dessau, 1842, pp. 85–91. Compare Jean Paul, *Æsthetik*, §§ 83–85.

notable enthusiast proposed to create an entirely new nomenclature for all the mythological personages of the Greek and Roman pantheons, although these, one would think, might have been allowed, if any, to retain their Greek and Latin names. Cupid was to be 'Lustkind,' Flora 'Bluminne,' Aurora 'Röthin;' instead of Apollo schoolboys were to speak of 'Singhold;' instead of Pan of 'Schaflieb;' instead of Jupiter of 'Helfevater,' with other absurdities to match. We may well beware (and the warning extends much further than to the matter in hand) of making a good cause ridiculous by our manner of supporting it, by acting as though exaggerations on one side were best redressed by equal exaggerations on the other.

LECTURE V.

DIMINUTIONS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

I OBSERVED in my latest lecture but one that it is the essential character of a living language to be in flux and flow, to be gaining and losing, assimilating to itself and rejecting from itself; and indeed no one who has not given some attention to the subject, would at all imagine the enormous amount of these gains, and not less the enormous amount of these losses—or, for reasons already stated, and because all that comes is not gain, and all is not loss that goes, let us say the enormous additions and diminutions which in a few centuries find place in that domain of a language which is mainly liable to these changes—I mean in its vocabulary, in its Dictionary, that is, as contrasted with its Grammar. It is not indeed with a language altogether as it is with a human body, of which the component parts are said to be in such unceasing flux and flow, with so much taken from it, and so much added to it, that in a very few years no particle of it remains unchanged. It is not, I say, exactly thus. There are stable elements, and, so to speak, constant quantities in a language, which determine its character—the group, that is, or family to which it belongs—secure its identity, and attest its continuity. Such is the grammar of a language, being

as it were the osseous structure and framework of it; which changes slowly, and in certain leading characteristics changes not at all; in all this contrasting strongly with the vocabulary, which is as the flesh that clothes these bones; and in which we may trace a never-ceasing change, a coming and going of its constituent parts, such as is nothing less than astonishing, when we take means a little to measure its amount. Of acquisitions which our language has made something has been said already. Of the diminutions it is now our business to speak.

It is certain that all languages must, or at least all languages do in the end, perish. They run their course; not all at the same rate, for the tendency to change is different in different languages, both from internal causes (mechanism and the like), and also from causes external to the language, and laid in the varying velocities of social progress and social decline; but so it is, that, sooner or later, they have all their youth, their manhood, their old age, their decrepitude, their final dissolution. Not indeed that they disappear, leaving no traces behind them, even when this last has arrived. On the contrary, out of their death a new life comes forth; they pass into other forms, the materials of which they were composed are organized in new shapes and according to other laws of life. Thus, for example, the Latin perishes as a living language; and yet perishes only to live again, though under somewhat different conditions, in the four daughter languages, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese; or the six, if we count the Provençal and Wallachian. Still in their own proper being they pass away, and seeing that this is so, the possibilities of

decay and death must have existed in them from the beginning.

Nor is this all; in such strong-built fabrics as these, the causes which thus bring about their final dissolution must have been actively at work very long before the results are so visible as that they cannot any longer be mistaken. Indeed, very often it is with them as with states, which, while in some respects they are knitting and strengthening, in others are already unfolding the seeds of their future and, it may be, still remote dissolution. Equally in these and those, in states and in languages, it would be a serious mistake to assume that all up to a certain point and period is growth and gain, while all after is decay and loss. On the contrary, there are long periods during which growth in some directions is going hand in hand with decay in others; losses in one kind are being compensated, or more than compensated, by gains in another; periods during which a language changes, but only as the bud changes into the flower, and the flower into the fruit. A time indeed arrives when the growth and gains, becoming ever fewer, cease to constitute any longer a compensation for the losses and the decay, which are ever becoming more; when the forces of disorganization and death at work are stronger than those of life and of order. But until that crisis and turning-point has arrived, we may be quite justified in speaking of the losses of a language, and may esteem them most real, without in the least thereby implying that its climacteric is passed, and its downward course begun. This may yet be far distant: and therefore when I dwell on certain losses and diminutions which our own has undergone or is

undergoing, you will not suppose that I am presenting it to you as already travelling that downward course, which it would seem that none in the end may escape. I have no such intention. If in some respects it is losing, in others it is gaining. Nor is everything which it lets go, a loss; for this too, the parting with a word in which there is no true help, the dropping of a cumbrous or superfluous form, may itself be sometimes a most real gain. English is undoubtedly becoming different from what it has been; but only different in that it is passing into another stage of its development; only different, as the fruit is different from the flower, and the flower from the bud; not having in all points the same excellencies which it once had, but with excellencies as many and as real as it ever had; possessing, it may be, less of beauty, but more of usefulness; not, perhaps, serving the poet so well, but serving the historian and philosopher better than before.

With one observation more I will enter on the special details of my subject. It is, indeed, only a saying over again what I said at the opening of this lecture. The losses or diminutions of a language differ in one respect from the gains or acquisitions—namely, that those are of two kinds, whilst these are only of one. The gains are only in words; it never puts forth in the course of its later evolution a new power; it never makes for itself a new case, or a new tense, or a new comparative. But the losses are both in words and in powers. In addition to the words which it drops, it leaves behind, as it travels onward, cases which it once possessed; renounces the employment of tenses which it once used; forgets

its dual; is content with one termination both for masculine and feminine, and so on. Nor is this a peculiar feature of one language, but the universal rule in all. 'In all languages,' as has been well said, 'there is a constant tendency to relieve themselves of that precision which chooses a fresh symbol for every shade of meaning, to lessen the amount of nice distinction, and detect as it were a royal road to the interchange of opinion.' For example, a vast number of languages had at an early period of their development, besides the singular and plural, a dual number, some even a trinal, which they have let go at a later. But what I mean by a language renouncing its powers I hope to make clearer in my next lecture. This much I have here said on the matter, to explain and justify a division which I propose to make, considering first the losses of the English language in *words*, and then in *powers*, the former constituting my theme in the present lecture, and the latter in one that will succeed it.

And first, there is going forward a continual extinction of the words in our language—as indeed in every other. We hardly realize to ourselves the immense losses which we have suffered, till we take the extinct words of some single formation, and seek to make as complete a list of these as we can. Then indeed we perceive that they are multitudinous as the autumn leaves in Vallombrosa. Take, for instance, the adjectives with the suffix 'ful.' The list which I offer does not make the remotest claim to completeness; while yet, I am sure, it is longer than any list of the surviving words of the same formation which could

be gotten together. It is as follows: 'abuseful' (Sussex dialect), 'aidful' (Daniel), 'amazeful' (Sidney), 'angerful' (Sylvester), 'annoyful' (Chaucer), 'availful' (Florio), 'avengeful,' 'aviseful' (both in Spenser), 'barful' (Shakespeare), 'bateful' (Sidney), 'batful' (=fruitful, Drayton), 'bedeful' (=prayerful, Old English), 'behoveful' (Shakespeare), 'beliefful' (Old English), 'blameful' (Shakespeare), 'blushful' (Thomson), 'bourdful' (Wiclif), 'breathful' (Spenser), 'causeful' (Sidney), 'chanceful' (Spenser), 'chargeful' (Shakespeare), 'charmful' (Cowley), 'checkful' (Udal), 'choiceful' (Spenser), 'comfortful' (Levins), 'conceitful' (Spenser), 'contemptful' (Feltham), 'crimeful' (Shakespeare), 'cursful' (Wiclif), 'dainteful' (Gower), 'dangerful' (Udal), 'dareful' (Shakespeare), 'darkful' (Wiclif), 'deathful' (Shakespeare), 'debateful' (Spenser), 'deedful' (but this has been revived by Tennyson), 'delayful' (Chapman), 'dernful' (Spenser), 'desertful' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'desireful' (Udal), 'despairful,' 'deviceful' (both in Spenser), 'devoutful' (Daniel), 'discordful' (Spenser), 'diseaseful' (Bacon), 'disgustful' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'dislikeful,' 'dismayful' (both in Spenser), 'dispatchful' (Pope), 'distractful' (Heywood), 'distressful' (Shakespeare), 'doomful' (Spenser), 'doughtful' (=doughty, Shakespeare), 'dreamful' (Mickle), 'drossful' (Sylvester), 'dueful,' 'dureful' (both in Spenser), 'earnful' (P. Fletcher), 'ermeful,' 'ernestful' (both in Chaucer), 'excessful' (Wiclif), 'expenseful' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'eyeful' (=observant, Yorkshire dialect), 'fameful' (Davies), 'faultful' (Shakespeare), 'feastful' (Milton), 'feckful' (still in provincial use), 'fenceful' (West), 'fiendful' (Mar-

lowe), 'fishful' (Drayton), 'foresightful' (Sidney), 'formful' (Thomson), 'fraudful' (Shakespeare), 'friendful' (Wiclif), 'friskful' (Thomson), 'gameful' (Chapman), 'gastful,' 'gazeful,' 'gladful,' 'griefful' (all in Spenser), 'gripful' (=avaricious, Whitby dialect), 'grisful' (Wiclif), 'groanful,' 'grudgeful' (both in Spenser), 'gustful' (Jeremy Taylor), 'heapful' (Holland), 'heryful' (Wiclif), 'hirkful' (Levins), 'increaseful' (Shakespeare), 'intreatful' (Spenser), 'lampful' (Sylvester), 'lateful,' 'leveful,' 'lightful' (all in Wiclif), 'liveful' (North), 'listful,' 'lothful,' 'loveful' (all in Spenser), 'masterful' (Holland), 'mazeful' (Spenser), 'medeful' (*Piers Plowman*), 'menseful' (=decorous, Durham dialect), 'mightful' (*Townley Mysteries*), 'mischiefful' (Paynell), 'mistful,' 'mistrustful' (both in Shakespeare), 'moistful' (Sylvester), 'molestful' (Barrow), 'moneful' (Spenser), 'moodful' (Layamon), 'murderful' (Mid Yorkshire), 'museful' (Sylvester), 'noiful' (Wiclif), 'noiseful' (Dryden), 'offenceful' (Shakespeare), 'pensiful' (=pensive, Sir T. Elyot), 'pithful' (Sir T. Browne), 'plaintful' (Shakespeare), 'poisonful' (Gurnall), 'praiseful' (Sidney), 'prideful' (Whitehead), 'promiseful' (Sylvester), 'quemful' (Richard Rolle de Hampole), 'rageful' (Sylvester), 'rapeful' (Chapman), 'rebukeful' (Levins), 'recompenseful,' 'recourseful' (Drayton), 'rentful' (*Piers Plowman*), 'redeful' (Layamon), 'resentful' (Pope), 'resistful' (C. Brooke), 'rewardful' (Spenser), 'ruthful' (Shakespeare), 'scareful' (Golding), 'scathful' (Shakespeare), 'scentful' (Browne), 'seedful,' 'senseful' (Sylvester), 'shapeful' (Chapman), 'shenful' (Wiclif), 'smartful' (Florio), 'spaceful' (Sandys), 'spearful' (Shenstone), 'speedful' (Wiclif), 'spelful' (Hoole)

'spendful' (Cecil), 'spleenful' (Chapman), 'spoilful' (Spenser), 'starful' (Sylvester), 'stomachful' (Hall), 'streamful' (Drayton), 'strengthful' (Wiclif), 'strideful' (Spenser), 'supportful' (Chapman), 'surgeful' (Drayton), 'suspectful' (Howell), 'sweatful' (Sylvester), 'talkful' (the same), 'teenful' (*Destruction of Troy*), 'teemful' (we still speak of the *teeming* earth), 'tideful' (Drayton), 'timeful' (Wiclif), 'threatful' (Spenser), 'toothful' (Massinger), 'toyful' (Donne), 'tradeful,' 'tressful' (both in Sylvester), 'tristful,' 'unbashful' (both in Shakespeare), 'unbelieveful' (Wiclif), 'unscathful' (*Ormulum*), 'urgeful,' 'vauntful' (Spenser), 'wailful' (Shakespeare), 'weepful' (Wiclif), 'wordful' (see Bosworth), 'worthful' (*Ormulum*), 'wrackful' (Chapman), 'wreakful' (Spenser), 'wreckful' (Golding), 'wretchful' (Wiclif), 'zealful' (Sylvester). As against these numerous losses I can only set 'prayerful,' which, long at home in the chapel, has now found its way into the church; 'nookful,' if this, on Browning's authority ('nookful Normandy'), shall obtain a footing among us; and 'mischanceful,' which is good and which also claims him, so far as I know, for its sponsor.

We may draw together, as a complement to these, a list of words ending with the privative 'less,' whose places in like manner now know them no more. Here is not a complete list, but a contribution to one: 'aidless' (Shakespeare), 'armless' (North Country), 'bandless' (Christ. Brooke), 'bateless' (Shakespeare), 'beginningless' (Davies), 'blushless' (Marston), 'bookless' (Fuller), 'bowelless' (Sir T. Browne), 'bragless' (Shakespeare), 'breadless' (*Piers Plowman*), 'bribeless' (C. Tourneur), 'brinkless' (Golding),

'busyless,' 'chaffless,' 'characterless' (all in Shakespeare), 'cheekless' (Marston), 'chiefless' (Pope), 'choiceless' (Hammond), 'clothless' (Chaucer), 'cloyless,' 'conceitless,' 'confineless,' 'contentless,' 'crestless,' 'crimeless,' 'cureless' (all in Shakespeare), 'debtless' (Chaucer), 'deedless' (Shakespeare), 'designless' (Boyle), 'dirtless' (Swift, which unhappily he was not), 'disputeless,' 'easeless' (Donne), 'effectless' (Shakespeare), 'envyless' (Lord Brooke), exceptless' (Shakespeare), 'faintless' (Stirling), 'favourless' (Spenser), 'fineless' (Shakespeare), 'finiteless' (Sir T. Browne), 'flowerless' (Chaucer), 'footless' (Phineas Fletcher), 'forceless' (Shakespeare), 'fortuneless' (Spenser), 'frontless' (Dryden), 'gainless' (Hammond), 'gall-less' (Cowley), 'grainless' (Fuller), 'graveless' (Shakespeare), 'griefless' (Sylvester), 'guardless' (South), 'guerdonless' (Sir T. Malory), 'guideless' (Cowley), 'hateless' (Sidney), 'healthless' (Sylvester), 'heatless' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'heirless' (Shakespeare), 'herberless' (Wiclif), 'honeyless' (Shakespeare), 'honourless' (Phaer), 'hostless' (Spenser), 'importless,' 'issueless,' 'kindless' (all in Shakespeare), 'jeopardless' (Udal), 'knightless,' (Spenser), 'knotless' (Golding), 'labourless' (Sylvester), 'landless,' 'languageless,' 'lightless' (all in Shakespeare), 'leaveless' (Chaucer), 'lotless' (Sir T. Malory), 'lustless' (Spenser), 'manless' (Bacon), 'markless' (Whitby dialect), 'mateless' (Quarles), 'matterless' (Whitby dialect), 'meanless' (Cleveland dialect), 'mirthless' (Golding), 'modestless' (Shakespeare), 'moneyless' (Holland), 'moodless' (Old English), 'napless' (Shakespeare), 'natureless' (Sadler), 'neighbourless' (Lord Brooke), 'noteless'

(Beaumont and Fletcher), 'occasionless' (Jackson), 'offenceless,' 'opposeless,' 'orderless' (all in Shakespeare), 'parentless' (*Mirror for Magistrates*), 'patronless' (Shaftesbury), 'phraseless,' 'pithless' (both in Shakespeare), 'pleasureless' (Golding), 'prideless' (Chaucer), 'priestless' (Pope), 'ransomless' (Shakespeare), 'reasonless' (Milton), 'recureless' (Chapman), 'redeless' (Sidney), 'reputeless' (Shakespeare), 'requiteless' (Davies), 'respectless' (Ben Jonson), 'returnless' (Chapman), 'rindless' (Old English), 'rockless' (Dryden), 'ruleless' (Spenser), 'sabbathless' (Bacon), 'sackless' (North Country), 'sarkless' (Cleveland dialect), 'sateless' (Young), 'seemless' (Chapman), 'shunless' (Shakespeare), 'sickless' (Surrey), 'silverless' (*Political Songs*), 'skilless' (Shakespeare), 'smartless' (Sylvester), 'smelless' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'smockless' (Chaucer), 'sonless' (Sylvester), 'soundless' (Shakespeare), 'spleenless' (Chapman), 'staunchless' (Shakespeare), 'stayless' (Davies), 'steerless' (Donne), 'strengthless' (Shakespeare), 'successless' (Pope), 'suspectless' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'sweatless' (Sylvester), 'swordless' (Sir T. Malory), 'termless' (Spenser), 'timeless,' 'titleless' (both in Shakespeare), 'truceless' (Fuller), 'trustless' (Gascoigne), 'ventless' (Davies), 'wareless' (Spenser), 'waterless' (Udal), 'wayless' (Golding), 'weightless,' 'wenchless' (both in Shakespeare), 'wieldless' (Spenser), 'wifeless' (Sir T. Malory), 'witless' (Shakespeare), 'wontless' (Spenser), 'wordless' (Shakespeare), 'workless' (Sir T. More), 'woundless' (Spenser), 'writless' (Tuke).

When we ask ourselves what are the causes which have led to this immense mortality, why in that great

struggle for existence which is going on here as in every other domain of life, this still makes part of the living army of words, while that has fallen dead, or been dismissed to drag out an obscure provincial existence; why oftentimes one word has been displaced by another, not, as it seems to us, better but worse; or, again, why certain families of words, or words formed after certain schemes and patterns, seem exposed to more than the ordinary chances of mortality, it is not always easy to give a satisfactory answer to these questions. Why for example in French has 'moult' given way before 'beaucoup,' 'choir' before 'tomber,' 'heur' before 'évènement,' 'chère' before 'visage,' 'ost' before 'armée,' 'navrer' before 'blesser,' 'faillir' before 'manquer,' 'clore' before 'fermer'? Causes no doubt in every instance there are. We can ascribe little here, if indeed anything, to mere hazard or caprice. Hazard might cause one man to drop the use of a word, but not a whole people to arrive at a tacit consent to employ it no more; while without this tacit consent it could not have become obsolete. Caprice, too, is an element which may be eliminated from our calculations when we have to do with multitudes; for in such case the caprice of one will traverse and defeat the caprice of another, leaving matters very much where they were. But the causes oftentimes are hard to discover; they lie deep-hidden in the genius of the language and in the tendencies of it at particular periods, these affecting speakers and writers who are quite unconscious of the influence thus exercised upon them.[1] Much here

[1] Dwight (*Modern Phonology*, 2nd series, p. 208): 'Great

must remain unexplained; but suggestions may be offered, which shall account for some, though by no means all, of the facts which here come under the eye.

And first, men do not want, or fancy that they do not want, certain words, and so suffer them to drop out of use. A language in the vigorous acquisitive periods of its existence has generated, or has in other ways got together from different quarters, a larger number of words, each with its separate shade of meaning, to connote some single object, than can be taken into actual use; more at any rate they are than the great body of the speakers of a language, with their lazy mental habits, are prepared to take up. Thus we speak at this day of a 'miser,' and perhaps in popular language of a 'hunks' and a 'skinflint;' but what has become of a 'gripe,' a 'huddle,' a 'snudge,' a 'chinch,' a 'micher,' a 'pinchpenny,' a 'pinchfist,' a 'pennifather,' a 'nipcheese,' a 'nipscreed,' a 'nipfarthing,' a 'clutchfist,' a 'kumbix' (κίμβιξ)? They have all or nearly all quite dropped out of the living language of men, and, doubtless, for the reason just suggested, namely, that they were more and more various than men would be at pains to discriminate, and having

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silent, yet determinative laws of criticism, and so, of general acceptance or condemnation, are ever at work upon words, deciding their position among mankind at large, as if before a court without any appeal. Their action is certain, though undefinable to our vision, like the seemingly blind laws of the weather; which yet, however multiplied in their sources, or subtle in their action, rule infallibly not only the questions of human labour and of human harvests, but also, to a great extent, those of human health, power, and enjoyment.'

discriminated, to employ.[1] This same mental indolence causes words to fall out of use, which it has been a real loss in clearness and precision to let go. An uncle on the father's side, and an uncle on the mother's, are manifestly not the same relation; certainly the Romans did not so account them, who for the first had 'patruus,' for the second 'avunculus.' We too had once a several word for mother's brother, 'eame,' the German 'oheim.' It was employed so late as by Drayton, but would be unintelligible now.

In like manner the dialect which in that struggle for existence has won the day, and become the classical language of a people, will very rarely admit of more than one word for one object; all the others it ignores; which thus either fall out of use altogether, or at best maintain an obscure and local existence. Thus there is hardly one of our familiar English birds which has not two, it may be several, names by which in different districts it is known. Our woodpecker, for example, is the 'specht' (Holland), the 'woodspick' (Golding), the 'woodsprite,' the 'woodhack,' the 'awlbird,' the 'pickatree,' the 'treejobber,' the 'thewhole,' the 'greenpeak,' the 'eatbee,' the 'rainbird,' the 'yaffle.'

[1] Diez (*Gram. d. Roman. Sprachen*, vol. i. p. 53) traces to the same cause the disappearance in the whole group of Romanic languages of so many words which from their wide use in Latin we might have expected to remain: thus 'arx' was rendered unnecessary by 'castellum,' 'equus' by 'caballus,' 'gramen' by 'herba,' 'janua' by 'ostium' and 'porta,' 'sidus' by 'astrum,' 'magnus' by 'grandis,' 'pulcher' by 'bellus,' 'sævus' by 'ferox,' and have thus vanished out of the languages descended from the Latin. The whole discussion on this subject is of great interest.

These are all the names which I can bring together; though certainly I have not exhausted the local names by which the woodpecker is called. But the classical language, which seeks to avoid confusion before everything else, having this more at heart than the preservation of the superfluous wealth of the language, lets in such cases all names disappear but one; as in instances innumerable may be seen.

Let me indicate another cause of the disappearance of words. Arts, trades, amusements in the course of time are superseded by others. These had each more or less of a nomenclature peculiarly its own. But with the supersession of any one of them a large number of words, which in the first instance were proper and peculiar to it, will have vanished likewise. Ships wear armour now, and not men; but with men's ceasing to wear it, how many words have for all practical purposes ceased from among us. Words like 'brigandine' and 'habergeon,' though they are found in our Authorized Version of the Bible, like 'burganet,' 'vantbrace,' 'morion,' 'baldric,' 'guisarm,' 'bascinet,' with many more, are not merely unemployed, but unintelligible for ninety-nine out of every hundred of English readers. Archery in its more serious aspects is now extinct, and the group of words is not a small one which with it have ceased to belong to our living language any more. How many readers would need a glossary to turn to, if they would know so much as what a 'fletcher' is.[1] Or look at any old treatise on hawking. What a multitude of terms are there assumed as familiar to the

[1] Marsh, *Lectures on the English Language*, 1860, p. 267, *sqq.*

reader, which have now quite dropped out of our common knowledge. Nor let it be urged that these can have constituted no serious loss, seeing that they were only used within the narrow circle, and comparatively narrow it must have always been, of those addicted to this sport. This is not the case. Of technical words a large number travel beyond the sphere which is peculiarly their own ; are used in secondary senses, and in these secondary senses are everybody's words, however in their primary sense they may remain the possession only of a few.

When I spoke just now of the extinction of such a multitude of words, I did not, as you will have observed already, refer merely to *tentative* words, candidates for admission into the language, offered to, but never in any true sense accepted by it, such as those of which I quoted some in an earlier lecture ; I referred rather to such as either belonged to its primitive stock, or, if not this, had yet been domiciled in it so long that they seemed to have found there a lasting home. The destruction has reached these quite as much as those. Thus not a few words of the purest Old English stock, some having lived on into the Elizabethan period or beyond it, have finally dropped out of our vocabulary ; sometimes leaving a gap which has never since been filled ; but their places oftener taken by others, some worse, some better, which have come up in their room. That beautiful word 'wanhope'—hope, that is, which has wholly *waned*, or despair—long held its ground ; it occurs in Gascoigne ; being the latest survivor of a whole family of words which continued much longer in Scotland than with us ; of which some perhaps continue there still. These are but a few of

them : 'wanthrift' for extravagance ; 'wanluck,' 'wanweird' or 'wanhap,' misfortune ; 'wanlust,' languor ; 'wanwit,' folly ; 'wangrace,' wickedness ; 'wantrust' (Chaucer), diffidence ; 'wantruth' (*Metrical Homilies*), falsehood ; 'wanchance,' ill-luck. 'Skinker' (no very graceful word), for cupbearer, is used by Shakespeare, and lasted on to Dryden's time and beyond it. Spenser uses often 'to welk' (welken) as to fade, 'to sty' as to mount, 'to hery' as to glorify or praise, 'to halse' as to embrace, 'teene' as vexation or grief ; Shakespeare 'to tarre' as to provoke, 'to sperr' as to enclose or bar in. Holland has 'reise' for journey, 'frimm' for lusty or strong. 'To tind,' surviving in 'tinder,' occurs in Bishop Sanderson ; 'to nimm' (nehmen) in Fuller. 'Nesh,' soft through moisture, good Old English once, still lives on in some of our provincial dialects, with not a few of the other words just named. Thus 'leer' for empty, 'heft,' that which only by an effort can be heaved up (used by Shakespeare), 'to fettle' (it is employed by Swift), 'elenge,' a beautiful word signifying lonely and melancholy at once, are common on the lips of our southern peasantry to this day.

A number of vigorous compounds we have let go and lost, or suffered to retire into obscure provincial existence. Except for Shakespeare we might have quite forgotten that young men of hasty fiery valour were once named 'hotspurs ;' and this even now is for us rather the proper name of one than a designation of all.[1] Austere old men, 'severe ancients' as Hol-

[1] See Holland, *Livy*, p. 922 ; Baxter, *Life and Times*, p. 39 ; Rogers, *Matrimonial Honour*, p. 233.

land describes them, such as, in Falstaff's words, 'hate us youth,' were 'grimsirs' or 'grimsires' once (Massinger); a foe that wore the semblance of a friend was a 'heavy friend;' a mischief-maker a 'coal-carrier;' an impudent railer a 'saucy jack' (all these in Golding); a cockered favourite was a 'whiteboy' (Fuller); a drunkard an 'aleknight,' a 'maltworm;' an old woman an 'old-trot;' an ill-behaved girl a 'naughty pack' (Golding), a 'lightskirts' (Bishop Hall); a dependant a 'hangby;' a soldier who of evil will ('malin gré') shirked his share of duty and danger a 'malingerer'—the word has life in it yet;—a sluggard a 'slow-back;' forest-haunting banditti 'woodkerns;' an ignoble place of refuge a 'creephole' (Henry More); entertainments of song or music were 'earsports' (Holland); a hideous concert of all most discordant noises a 'black-sanctus;' well-merited chastisement 'whipping-cheer' (Stubbs); pleasant drink 'merrygodown' (Golding). 'Double-diligent' (Golding) was mischievously officious; 'snoutfair' an epithet applied to a woman who, having beauty, had no other gifts, mental or moral, to commend her; 'mother-naked' (an old Teutonic word revived by Carlyle) finds its explanation at Job i. 21; 1 Tim. vi. 7. Who too but must acknowledge the beauty of such a word as 'weeping-ripe' (Shakespeare), ready, that is, to burst into tears, the 'crying-ripe' of Beaumont and Fletcher, the ἀρτίδακρυς of the Greeks?

And as words, so also phrases are forgotten. 'From the teeth outward,' to express professions which spring from no root in the heart of him who makes them, has evidently approved itself to Carlyle. How expressive too are many other of the proverbial phrases

which we have suffered to fall through; as for instance 'to make a coat for the moon,' to attempt something in its nature every way impossible; 'to tread the shoe awry,' to make a *faux pas*; 'to play rex,' to domineer; 'to weep Irish,' to affect a grief which is not felt within, as do the hired mourners at an Irish wake. But these are legion, and quite impossible to enumerate, so that we must content ourselves with the examples here given.

An almost unaccountable caprice seems often to preside over the fortunes of words, and to determine which should live and which die. Of them quite as much as of books it may be affirmed, *habent sua fata.* Thus in instances out of number a word lives on as a verb, but has perished as a noun; we say 'to embarrass,' but no longer an 'embarrass;' 'to revile,' but not, with Chapman and Milton, a 'revile;' 'to dispose,' but not a 'dispose;' 'to retire,' but not a 'retire' (Milton); 'to wed,' but not a 'wed;' 'to angle,' but not an 'angle;' 'to infest,' but we use no longer the adjective 'infest.' Or with a reversed fortune a word lives on as a noun, but has perished as a verb; thus as a noun substantive, a 'slug,' but no longer 'to slug' (Milton, prose); a 'child,' but no longer 'to child' ('*childing* autumn,' Shakespeare); a 'rape,' but not 'to rape' (South); 'knowledge,' but not 'to knowledge' (Coverdale); a 'rogue,' but not 'to rogue;' 'malice,' but not 'to malice;' a 'path,' but not 'to path' (Shakespeare); or as a noun adjective, 'serene,' but not 'to serene,' a beautiful word, by us let go, as 'sereiner' by the French;[1] 'meek,' but not 'to meek'

[1] How many words modern French has lost which are most vigorous and admirable, the absence of which can only now be

(Wiclif); 'fond,' but not 'to fond' (Dryden); 'dead,' but not 'to dead;' 'intricate,' but 'to intricate' (Jeremy Taylor) no longer. So too we have still the adjective 'plashy,' but a 'plash,' signifying a wet place in a field, no more.

Or again, the affirmative remains, but the negative is gone. One of our most serious losses is the frequent perishing of this; thus 'scathful,' but not 'unscathful' (*Ormulum*); 'profit,' 'bold,' 'sad,' 'deadly,' but not any more 'unprofit,' 'unbold,' 'unsad,' 'undeadly' (all in Wiclif);[1] 'cunning,' but not 'uncunning;' 'manhood,' 'wit,' 'mighty,' 'tall,' 'strange,' but not 'unmanhood,' 'unwit,' 'unmighty,' 'untall,' 'unstrange' (all in Chaucer); 'ghostly,' but not 'unghostly' (Coverdale); 'dreadful,' but not 'undreadful' (Herrick); 'honest,' but not 'unhonest' (Holland); 'tame,' but not 'untame' (Jackson); 'buxom,' but not 'unbuxom' (Dryden); 'cheerful,' but not 'uncheerful,' 'faulty,' but not 'unfaulty,' 'harmful,' but not 'unharmful,' 'hasty,' but not 'unhasty' (all in Spenser); 'bashful,' but not 'unbashful;' 'contrite,' but not 'uncontrite,' 'lusty,' but not 'unlusty' (both in Fisher); 'rightful,' but not 'unrightful;' 'secret,'

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supplied by a circumlocution or by some less excellent word—'Oseur,' 'affranchisseur' (Amyot), 'mépriseur,' 'murmurateur,' 'blandisseur' (Bossuet), 'abuseur' (Rabelais), 'désabusement,' 'rancœur,' are all obsolete at the present; and so 'désaimer,' to cease to love ('disamare' in Italian), 'guirlander,' 'stériliser,' 'blandissant,' 'ordonnément' (Montaigne), with innumerable others. La Bruyère, in his *Caractères*, c. 14, laments the loss, oftentimes inexplicable, of various excellent words in French.

[1] I had added 'unwisdom' in former editions to these; but this, I am glad to believe, has come back to us.

but not 'unsecret;' 'pregnant,' but not 'unpregnant;' 'doubtful,' but not 'undoubtful;' 'rough,' but not 'unrough;' 'tender,' but not 'untender' (all in Shakespeare); 'worthies,' but not 'unworthies' (Brereton); 'blithe,' but not 'unblithe;' 'idle,' but not 'unidle' (Sidney); 'base,' but not 'unbase;' 'quick,' but not 'unquick' (both in Daniel); 'glad,' but not 'unglad' (*Townley Mysteries*); 'useful,' but not 'unuseful' (Massinger); 'ease,' but not 'unease (Hacket); 'lust,' but not 'unlust' (Coverdale); 'probity,' but not 'improbity' (Sanderson); 'subject,' but not 'unsubject' (Daniel); 'repentance,' but not 'unrepentance;' 'remission,' but not 'irremission' (Donne); 'science,' but not 'nescience' (Glanvill); 'facile,' but not 'difficile' (Bacon); 'to know,' but not 'to unknow;' 'to worship,' but not 'to unworship' (both in Wiclif); 'to give,' but not 'to ungive;' 'to hallow,' but not 'to unhallow' (Coverdale); 'to remember,' but not 'to disremember' (= to forget, and still common in Ireland). Or, with a variation the reverse of this, the negative survives, while the affirmative is gone; thus 'wieldy' (Chaucer) survives only in 'unwieldy;' 'couth' and 'couthly' (both in Spenser), only in 'uncouth' and 'uncouthly;' 'mannerly' in 'unmannerly' (Coverdale); 'nocent' (Milton, prose), in 'innocent;' 'speakable' (Milton), in 'unspeakable;' 'pregnable' (Holland), in 'impregnable;' 'vincible' (Jeremy Taylor), in 'invincible;' 'advertence' (Barclay), in 'inadvertence;' 'flammability' (Sir T. Browne), in 'inflammability;' 'ruly' (Foxe), in 'unruly;' 'gainly' (Henry More), in 'ungainly;' these last two were serviceable words, and have been ill lost, 'gainly' indeed is still common in the West Riding;

'exorable' (Holland) and 'evitable' survive only in 'inexorable' and 'inevitable;' 'faultless' remains, but hardly 'faultful' (Shakespeare); 'shapeless,' but not 'shapeful' (Chapman); 'semble' (Foxe), except as a technical law term, has disappeared, while 'dissemble' continues; 'simulation' (Coverdale) is gone, but 'dissimulation' remains; 'to embogue' (Florio) in like manner has vanished, but not 'to disembogue.' So also of other pairs one has been taken, and one left; 'height,' or 'highth,' as Milton better spelt it, remains, but 'lowth' (Becon) is gone; 'underling' remains, but 'overling' has perished; 'beldam' has kept its ground, but not 'belsire.' 'Exhort' continues, but 'dehort,' a word whose place 'dissuade' does not exactly supply, has escaped us; 'righteousness,' or 'rightwiseness,' as once more accurately written, remains, but 'wrongwiseness' has been taken; 'inroad' continues, but 'outroad' (Holland) has disappeared; 'levant' lives, but 'ponent' (Holland) has died; 'to extricate' continues, but, as we saw just now, 'to intricate' does not; so too 'parricide,' but not 'filicide' (Holland); 'womanish,' but not 'mannish' (Shakespeare); 'to winter,' but not 'to summer' (Authorized Version). Again, of whole groups of words formed on some particular scheme it may be only a single specimen will survive. Thus 'gainsay' (= againsay) survives; but 'gaincope,' 'gainstand' (Golding), 'gainstrive' (Foxe), and other similarly formed words, exist no longer. 'Blameworthy,' 'noteworthy,' 'praiseworthy,' 'seaworthy,' 'trustworthy,' are perhaps the only survivors of a group that numbered once 'crownworthy' (Ben Jonson), 'deathworthy' (Shakespeare), 'japeworthy' (Chaucer), 'kissworthy'

(Sidney), 'painworthy' (Spenser), 'shameworthy' (Wiclif), 'stalworthy,' or worth stealing, now 'stalwart' (Skelton), 'thankworthy' (English Bible), and very probably more. In like manner 'foolhardy' alone remains out of at least five adjectives formed on the same pattern; thus 'foollarge' (= 'prodigal') and 'foolhasty,' both found in Chaucer, lived on to the time of Holland; while 'foolhappy' is in Spenser, and 'foolbold' in Bale. 'Laughing-stock' we still use; and 'battering-stock' survives in some local dialects; but 'gazing-stock' (English Bible), 'jesting-stock' (Coverdale), 'mocking-stock' (Sternhold and Hopkins), 'sporting-stock' (Udal), 'playing-stock' (North), 'japing-stock' (*Old English Sermon*), 'pointing-stock,' 'flouting-stock' (both in Shakespeare), 'wondring-stock' (Coverdale), have all disappeared. 'Stedfast' remains, but 'bedfast' (= bedridden), 'handfast' (= betrothed), 'homefast,' 'housefast' or confined to the house, 'masterfast' or engaged to a master (Skelton), 'rootfast,' 'shamefast,' 'trothfast' (Cumbrian), 'weatherfast' (Cleveland dialect), 'wordfast' (see Bosworth), with others, are all gone. We have 'twilight,' but 'twibil' (= bipennis, Chapman), and 'twifight' (=duel), are extinct.

It is a real loss that the comparative 'rather' should now stand alone, having dropped alike the positive 'rathe,' and the superlative 'rathest.' 'Rathe,' or early, though a graceful word, and not fallen quite out of popular remembrance, being embalmed in the *Lycidas* of Milton,

> 'And the *rathe* primrose, which forsaken dies,'

might be suffered to share the common lot of so many

other words which have perished, though worthy to live; but the disuse of 'rathest' is a real loss to the language, and the more so, that 'liefest' has gone too. 'Rather' expresses the Latin 'potius;' but 'rathest' being obsolete, we have no word, unless 'soonest' may be accepted as such, to express 'potissimum,' or the preference not of one way over another or over certain others, but of one over all; which we therefore effect by aid of various circumlocutions. Nor has 'rathest' been so long out of use, that it would be hopeless to attempt to revive it. Sanderson, in his beautiful sermon on the text, 'When my father and my mother forsake me, the Lord taketh me up,' puts the consideration, 'why father and mother are named the *rathest*, and the rest to be included in them.'[1]

I observed just now that words formed on certain patterns had a tendency to fall into disuse, and seem exposed to more than the ordinary chances of mortality. It has perhaps been thus with adjectives ending in 'some,' the Anglo-Saxon and early English 'sum,' the German 'sam' ('friedsam,' 'seltsam'); and reappearing as an independent word in 'same.' It is true that of these many survive, as 'gladsome,' 'handsome,' 'wearisome,' 'buxom' (the German 'beugsam' or 'biegsam,' bendable, compliant); but of these far more than a rateable proportion are nearly or quite extinct. Thus 'wansum,' or sorrowful, is in the *Story of Genesis*; while in Wiclif's Bible you may note

[1] For other passages in which 'rathest' occurs see the *State Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 92, 170.

'lovesum,' 'hatesum,' 'lustsum,' 'gilsum' (guilesome), 'wealsum,' 'heavysum,' 'lightsum,' 'delightsum;' of these 'lightsome' survived long, and indeed still survives in provincial dialects; but of the others all save 'delightsome' are gone; while that, although used in our Authorized Version (Mal. iii. 12), is now only employed in poetry. So too 'mightsome' (see Herbert Coleridge's *Glossarial Index*), 'willsome' (*Promptorium*), 'hearsome' (= obedient), 'needsome,' 'wantsome,' 'brightsome' (Marlowe), 'wieldsome,' 'unwieldsome' (Golding), 'unlightsome' (Milton), 'thoughtsome,' 'growthsome' (both in Fairfax), 'healthsome' (*Homilies*), 'poisonsome' (Speght), 'ugsome,' 'ugglesome' (both in Foxe), 'laboursome' (Shakespeare), 'friendsome,' 'longsome' (Bacon), 'quietsome,' 'mirksome' (both in Spenser), 'toothsome' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'dubersome' (Sussex dialect), 'deepsome' (Chapman), 'gleesome,' 'joysome' (both in Browne's *Pastorals*), 'gaysome' (*Mirror for Magistrates*), 'likesome' (Holinshed), 'roomsome,' 'bigsome,' 'awsome,' 'timersome,' 'winsome,' 'viewsome,' 'dosome' (= prosperous), 'flaysome' (= fearful), 'flowtersome' (= quarrelsome), 'auntersome' (= adventurous), 'drearisome,' 'dulsome,' 'doubtsome,' 'doughtsome,' 'aimsome' (= ambitious), 'gathersome' (= social), 'fremsome' (= unsocial), 'friendsome,' 'hurtsome,' 'growsome,' 'lixom' (= likesome or amiable), 'flavoursome,' 'wranglesome,' 'hindersome,' 'clamorsome,' 'thwartsome' (all these still surviving in the North), 'playsome' (employed by the historian Hume), 'lissome,' 'meltsome,' 'heedsome,' 'laughsome,' 'clogsome,' 'fearsome,' 'limbersome,' 'chatsome' (= talkative, Kentish), 'ravisome'

(= rapacious), 'fensome' (=adroit), 'gyversome' (= greedy, Durham), 'clumsome,' have nearly or quite disappeared from our common English speech, and are found, if found at all, in our dialects. More of these have held their place in Scotland than in the south of the Island.[1]

In the same way of a group of words, almost all of them depreciatory and contemptuous, ending in 'ard,' the German 'hart,' the Gothic 'hardus,'[2] more than one half have dropped out of use; I refer to that group of which 'bastard,' 'braggart,' 'buzzard,' 'dotard,' 'laggard,' 'sluggard,' 'wizard,' may be taken as surviving specimens; while 'ballard' (a bald-headed man, Wiclif); 'blinkard' (*Homilies*), 'bosard, 'dizzard' (Burton), 'drivelard,' 'dullard' (Udal), 'haggard' (a worthless hawk), 'haskard,' 'musard' (Chaucer), 'palliard,' 'pillard,' 'puggard,' 'shreward' (Robert of Gloucester), 'snivelard' (*Promptorium*);

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[1] Thus see in Jamieson's *Dictionary* 'bangsome,' 'freaksome,' 'drysome,' 'grousome,' with others out of number.

[2] This, though a German form, reached *us* through the French; having been early adopted by the Neo-latin languages. In Italian words of this formation are frequent, 'bugiardo,' 'codardo,' 'falsardo,' 'leccardo,' 'linguardo,' 'testardo,' 'vecchiardo;' and certainly not less so in French, in which words with this termination are at this day multiplying fast. Darmesteter, in his work *Mots Nouveaux*, enumerates some eighteen recent creations; words with this termination, in whatever language they may be found, have almost always, as Diez observes (*Gram. d. Rom. Sprachen*, vol. ii. p. 350), 'eine ungünstige Bedeutung.' Compare Mätzner, *English Grammar*, vol. i. p. 439; Koek, *Gramm. d. Engl. Sprache*, vol. iii. p. 106.

'stinkard' (Ben Jonson), 'trichard' (*Political Songs*), have no longer any life in them.[1]

There is a curious province of our vocabulary, in which we were once so rich, that extensive losses have failed to make us poor. I refer to those double words which either contain within themselves a strong rhyming modulation, such, for example, as 'willy-nilly,' 'hocus-pocus,' 'helter-skelter,' 'tag-rag,' 'namby-pamby,' 'pell-mell,' 'hab-nab,' 'hodge-podge,' 'hugger-mugger,' 'hurly-burly,'[2] or, with a slight difference from this, those whose characteristic feature is not this internal likeness with initial unlikeness, but initial likeness with internal unlikeness; not rhyming,

[1] What this 'ard' or 'hart' was before it became a mere suffix is fully explained in Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. iv. p. 92.

[2] The same pleasure in a swiftly recurring rhyme has helped to form such phrases as these: 'carry and harry,' 'creep and leap,' 'draff and chaff,' 'rape and scrape,' 'scot and lot,' 'art and part,' 'shame and blame,' 'top and lop.' Fairly numerous in English, there are far more of them in German; thus, 'band und rand,' 'dach und fach,' 'fleiss und schweiss,' 'freud und leid,' 'gut und blut,' 'handel und wandel,' 'hege und pflege,' 'hehlen und stehlen,' 'hüben und drüben,' 'hülle und fülle,' 'kern und stern,' 'krieg und sieg,' 'leben und streben,' 'leben und weben,' 'lug und trug,' 'rath und that,' 'sack und pack,' 'sang und klang,' 'saus und braus,' 'schalten und walten,' 'schlecht und recht,' 'schritt und tritt,' 'schutz und trutz,' 'sichten und richten,' 'steg und weg,' 'weit und breit.' For some earlier and mainly juristic forms of the like kind see Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 13. The same are common enough in Greek, as in the proverb, Παθήματα, μαθήματα: so too ῥεύματα and πνεύματα (Plato, *Rep.* iii. 405); κτῆσις and χρῆσις, κτήματα and χρήματα, ζωὴ and πνοὴ (Acts xvii. 25), βρῶσις and πόσις (Col. ii. 16).

but strongly alliterative, and in every case with a change of the interior vowel from a weak into a strong, generally from 'i' into 'a' or 'o;' as 'shilly-shally,' 'mingle-mangle,' 'tittle-tattle,' 'prittle-prattle,' 'driffel-*draffel*,' '*riff-raff*,' '*see-saw*,' '*slip-slop*.' No one who is not quite out of love with the homelier portions of the language, but will acknowledge the life and strength which there is often in these and in others still current among us. But of this sort what vast numbers have fallen out of use, some so fallen out of all remembrance that it may be difficult to find credence for them. Thus take of rhyming the following: 'kaury-maury,' 'trolly-tolly' (*Piers Plowman*), 'tuzzie-muzzie' (*Promptorium*), 'hufty-tufty,' 'kicksy-wicksy' (Shakespeare); 'hibber-gibber,' 'rusty-dusty,' 'horrel-lorrel,' 'slaump-paump' (all in Gabriel Harvey), 'royster doyster' (*Old Play*), 'hoddy-doddy' (Ben Jonson); while of alliterative might be instanced these: 'skimble-skamble,' 'bibble-babble' (both in Shakespeare), 'twittle-twattle,' 'kim-kam' (both in Holland), 'trim-tram,' 'trish-trash,' 'swish-swash' (all in Gabriel Harvey), 'whim-wham' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'mizz-mazz' (Locke), 'snip-snap' (Pope), 'flim-flam' (Swift), 'tric-trac,' and others.[1]

[1] *A Dictionary of Reduplicated Words in the English Language*, by Henry B. Wheatley, published as an appendix to *The Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1865, contains nearly six hundred of these words, and the collector believes that there are some hundreds more which he has not ingathered. I doubt whether he has left any such gleaning to those who follow him. Words constructed on a similar scheme are to be found in the Romance languages; but are less numerous there, and not indigenous; their existence in these being rather the result of

Again, there is a whole family of words,—many of them are now under ban,—which were at one time formed almost at pleasure, the only condition being that the combination should be a happy one. I refer to those singularly expressive words formed by a combination of verb and substantive, the former governing the latter: as 'lickspittle,' 'marplot,' 'scapegrace,' 'spendthrift,' 'telltale.' These, with some others, have held their ground, and are current still: but how many are forgotten; while yet, though not always elegant, they preserved some of the most genuine and vigorous idioms of the language.[1] Nor is this strange; they are almost all words of abuse or contempt, and these, alas! are invariably among the most picturesque and imaginative which a language possesses. The whole man speaks out in them, and often the man under the influence of passion and excitement, which always lend force and fire to his speech. Not a few of these words occur

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Germanic influences, which the Neo-latin languages did not altogether escape (Diez, *Gram. d. Rom. Sprachen*, vol. i. p. 71).

[1] Many languages have groups of words formed upon the same scheme, although, singularly enough, they are altogether absent from the Anglo-Saxon (Grimm, *Deutsche Gram.*, vol. ii. p. 976). Thus in Spanish a vaunting braggart is a 'matamoros,' a slaymoor; he is a 'matasiete,' a slayseven (the 'ammazzasette' of the Italians); a 'perdonavidas,' a sparelives. Others may he added to these, as 'azotacalles,' 'picapleytos,' 'saltaparedes,' 'rompeesquinas,' 'ganapan,' 'cascatreguas.' So in French, 'attisefeu,' 'coupegorge,' 'fainéant,' 'troublefête,' 'vaurien.' In Italian 'accattapane,' 'cercabrighe,' 'rubacuori,' and many more (Diez, *Gram. d. Rom. Sprachen*, vol. ii. p. 410).

in Shakespeare. The following catalogue makes no pretence to completeness: 'breakpromise,' 'breakvow,' 'breedbate,' 'carrytale,' 'choplogic,' 'crackhemp,' 'findfault,' 'killcourtesy,' 'lackbeard,' 'lackbrain,' 'lacklinen,' 'lacklove,' 'makepeace,' 'makesport,' 'martext,' 'mumblenews,' 'picklock,' 'pickpurse,' 'pickthanks,' 'pleaseman,' 'scarecrow,' 'sneakcup,' 'swingebuckler,' 'tearsheet,' 'telltruth,' 'ticklebrain,' 'wantwit.' Among all these there is only one, 'makepeace,' in which reprobation or contempt is not implied. But the catalogue is not more than begun. Thus add the following: 'bitesheep,' a favourite name with Foxe for bishops who rather as wolves devour the flock than as shepherds feed it; 'blabtale' (Hacket), 'blurpaper' (=scribbler, Florio), 'catchpole' (Wiclif), 'cherishthieves,' 'clawback' (a more graphic, if not more graceful word than sycophant, Hacket), 'clusterfist' (Cotgrave), 'clutchfist' (Middleton), 'crackhalter,' 'crackrope,' 'curryfavour,' 'cumberworld' (Drayton), 'daredevil' (=wagehals), 'dingthrift' (=prodigal, Herrick), 'drawlatch' (Awdeley), 'frayboggard' (=scarecrow, Coverdale), 'getnothing' (Adams), 'haleback' (*Telltruth's New Year's Gift*), 'hategood' (Bunyan), 'hatepeace' (Sylvester), 'hangdog' ('Herod's *hangdogs* in the tapestry,' Pope), 'hinderlove' (*Passionate Morris*), 'killcow' (G. Harvey), 'killjoy,' 'killman' (Chapman), 'kindlecoal,' 'kindlefire' (both in Gurnall), 'lackland,' 'lacklatin,' 'letgame' (Chaucer), 'lickdish,' 'lickspit' (both in Florio), 'makebate,' 'makedebate' (Richardson), 'makefray' (Bishop Hall), 'makesport' (Fuller), 'makeshift' (used of persons and not things, G. Harvey), 'marprelate,' 'mumblematins,'

'nipcheese,' 'nipfarthing' (Drant), 'nipscreed,' 'pickfault,' 'pickpenny' (H. More), 'pickquarrel,' 'pinchpenny' (Holland), 'pinchfist' (the same), 'quenchcoal' (Rogers), 'rakeshame' (Milton), 'reelpot,' 'rinsepitcher' (Becon), 'rushbuckler,' 'scapegallows,' 'scapethrift,' 'shakebuckler,' 'sharkgull' (Middleton), 'slipstring' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'skinflint,' 'slipgibbet' (a name given to one who had just escaped 'going upstairs to bed'), 'smellfeast' (=τρεχέδειπνος and an improvement on 'parasite,' Davies), 'smellsmock' (= mulierarius), 'spendall' (Cotgrave), 'spillbread,' 'spilltime' (*Piers Plowman*), 'spintext,' 'spifault,' 'spoilsport,' 'stroygood' (Golding), 'spitfire,' 'spitpoison' (South), 'spitvenom,' 'suckfist,' 'swashbuckler' (Holinshed), 'swillbowl' (Stubbs), 'swillpot' (Cotgrave), 'tearthroat,' 'telltruth' (Fuller), 'tosspot' (the same), 'troubletown' (Breton), 'turnback' (Gayton), 'turncoat,' 'turntippet' (Cranmer), 'turntail,' 'wagfeather,' 'waghalter,' 'wastegood' (all in Cotgrave), 'wastethrift' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'wantwit.' Other words there are which it would be convenient to omit. 'Rakehell,' which used to be spelt 'rakel' or 'rakle' (Chaucer), a good English word, would be wrongly included in this list, although Cowper, when he writes 'rakehell' ('*rake-hell* baronet'),[1] must

[1] I regret by too much brevity to have here led astray Dr. G. Schneider, who has written a *History of the English Language*, Freiburg, 1863, and done me the honour to transfer with very slight acknowledgment whatever he found useful in my little book to his own. He has at p. 159, this wonderful passage: 'Rakehell bedeutete ehemals baronet; bald verband sich damit der Begriff von "wohllebender Mensch;" und da derjenige, welcher mehr an's Wohlleben denkt, leicht ein

plainly have regarded it as belonging to this family of words.[1]

There is another frequent cause of the disuse of words. In some inexplicable way there comes to be attached something of ludicrous, or coarse, or vulgar to them, from a sense of which they are no longer used in earnest writing, and fall out of the discourse of those who desire to speak elegantly. Not indeed that this degradation which overtakes certain words is in all cases inexplicable. The unheroic character of most men's minds, with their consequent intolerance of that heroic which they cannot understand, is constantly at work, often with too much success, in taking down words of nobleness from their high pitch; and, as the most effectual way of doing this, in casting an air of mock-heroic about them. Thus in modern French a glass of brandy poured into a cup of black coffee is a 'gloria;' 'to dub,' a word resting on one of the noblest usages of chivalry, has now something of ludicrous about it; so too has 'doughty.' Words like these so used belong to that serio-comic, mock-heroic diction, the multiplication of which, as of all parodies on greatness, is evermore a sign of evil augury

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Wohllüstling wird, ging die anfangs gute Bedeutung in diese letztere über; der Ausdruck ward desshalb aufgegeben, um nicht mit dem Gedanken an baronet stets die Idee von einem ausschweifenden wohllüstigen Menschen zu verbinden.'

[1] The mistake is far earlier; long before Cowper wrote the sound suggested first this sense, and then this spelling. Thus Stanihurst, *Description of Ireland*, p. 28: 'They are taken for no better than *rakehels*, or *devil's black guard*;' and often elsewhere.

for a nation that welcomes it with favour, is at present such a sign of evil augury for our own.

'Pate' is now comic or ignoble: it was not so once; else we should not meet it in our version of the Psalms (vii. 17); as little was 'noddle,' which occurs in one of the few poetical passages in Hawes. The same may be affirmed of 'sconce,' of 'nowl' or 'noll' (Wiclif); of 'slops' for trousers (Marlowe's *Lucan*); of 'cocksure' (Rogers), of 'smug,' which once meant adorned ('the *smug* bridegroom,' Shakespeare). 'To nap' is now a word without dignity; while in Wiclif's Bible we read, 'Lo He schall not *nappe*, nether slepe that kepeth Israel' (Ps. cxxi. 4). 'To punch,' 'to thump,' both occurring in Spenser, could not now obtain the same serious use; as little 'to wag' (Matt. xxvii. 39, E. V.), or 'to buss' (Shakespeare). Neither would any one now say with Wiclif that at Lystra Barnabas and Paul 'rent their clothes and *skipped out* among the people' (Acts xiv. 14); nor with Coverdale, 'My beloved cometh *hopping* upon the mountains' (Cant. ii. 8); nor yet that 'the Lord *trounced* Sisera and all his host,' as it stands in the Bible of 1551; nor with the Geneva characterize some as 'detestable *fellows*' (2 Pet. ii. 14). 'A *sight* of angels' (as Tyndale has it at Heb. xii. 22) would be felt as a vulgarism now. Even 'a *flock* of angels' (enngleflocc, *Ormulum*) would be counted somewhat too familiar. 'A *blubbered* face' (Spenser) would scarcely appeal to our pity, nor 'a *smudged* face' (Golding) excite horror. We should not call now a delusion of Satan a '*flam* of the devil' (Henry More); nor our Lord's course through the air to the pinnacle of the temple 'his aery *jaunt*' (Milton). 'Verdant' is not a name which Spenser could now

give to one of the knights of Fairyland. It is the same with phrases. 'Through thick and thin' (Spenser), 'cheek by jowl' (Sylvester), 'tag and rag' (Golding), 'highest by odds,' 'to take snuff,' 'to lay in one's dish,' 'to cast a sheep's eye' (the three last in Holland), 'to save one's bacon' (Milton, prose), 'hand over head' (Bacon), 'tooth and nail' (Golding), 'at sixes and sevens,' 'at the fag end,' 'a peck of troubles' (Florio), do not now belong to serious literature. In the glorious ballad of *Chevy Chase*, a noble warrior whose legs are hewn off, is 'in doleful dumps;' just as, in Holland's *Livy*, the Romans are 'in the dumps' after their defeat at Cannæ. In Golding's *Ovid*, one fears that he will 'go to pot.' John Careless, in one of his beautiful letters preserved in Foxe's *Martyrs*, announces that a persecutor, who expects a recantation from him, is 'in the wrong box.' And in the sermons of Barrow, who certainly did not affect familiar, still less vulgar, expressions, we constantly meet such terms as 'to rate,' 'to snub,' 'to gull,' 'to pudder' (that is, to bother), 'dumpish,' and the like: words, we may be sure, not vulgar when he used them.

Then too the advance of refinement causes words to be dismissed, which are felt to speak too plainly. It is not here merely that one age has more delicate ears than another; and that matters are freely spoken of at one period which at another are withdrawn from conversation. There is something of this; but even if this delicacy were at a standstill, there would still be a continual disallowing of words, which for a certain while had been employed to designate coarse or disagreeable facts or things; or, where not a total disallowing, a relinquishing of them to the lower classes

of society, with the adoption of others in their stead. The former words being felt to have come by long use into too direct and close relation with that which they designate, to summon it up too distinctly before the mind's eye, they are thereupon exchanged for others, which indicate more lightly and allusively the offensive thing, rather hint and suggest than designate and name it; although by and by these new will in their turn be discarded, and for exactly the same reasons which brought about the dismissal of those which they themselves superseded. It lies in the necessity of things that I must leave this part of my subject, curious as it is, without illustration by aid of examples;[1] but no one

[1] As not, however, turning on a *very* coarse matter, and illustrating the subject with infinite wit and humour, I might refer the Spanish scholar to the discussion between Don Quixote and his squire on the dismissal of 'regoldar' from the language of good society, and the substitution of 'erutar' in its room (*Don Quixote*, iv. 7. 43). In a letter of Cicero to Pætus (*Fam.* ix. 22) there is a subtle and interesting disquisition on the philosophy of these forbidden words. See too Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, s. v. Koth. What has been said above on this matter has been said so much better by Mr. Earle (*Philology of the English Tongue*, p. 455) that I cannot refuse to quote his words: 'It is well known that many words in common use are masked, that they do not express plainly the sense which they are notwithstanding intended to convey. We do not always call a spade a spade. We have recourse in certain well-known cases to forms of expression as distant from the thing meant as is any way consistent with the intention of being understood. In such cases it will have struck every philological observer that it becomes necessary from time to time to replace these makeshifts with others of new device. In fact, words used to convey a veiled meaning are found to wear out very rapidly. The real thought pierces through; they soon stand declared for what they are, and not

even moderately acquainted with the early literature of the Reformation can be ignorant of words having free course therein, which now are not merely coarse, and as such under ban, but which no one would employ who did not mean to speak impurely and vilely.

I spoke in a former lecture of the many words which have come back to us after a temporary absence, and of the extent to which the language has been reinforced and recruited by these. For there is this difference between words and flexions, that of the last what is once gone is gone for ever; no human power could ever recall them. A poet indeed may use 'pictaï' for 'pictæ,' 'olli' for 'illi' (Virgil), or 'glitterand' for 'glittering' (Spenser), but it is not in their power to give a new lease of life to these, even if they would; and when a German writer suggests that to abate the too great sibilation of our language we should recover the plurals in 'n,' 'eyne,' 'housen,' 'hosen,' and the like, he betrays his ignorance of the inexorable laws of language, and of the impossibility by any human effort of controlling or modifying these. But it is not so with words; and I must needs think, in view of this disposition of theirs to return, in view also of the havoc which, as we have seen, various causes are

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for what they half feign to be. Words gradually drop the non-essential, and display the pure essence of their nature. And the real nature of a word is to be found in the thought which is at the bottom of its motive. As we know full well how this nature pierces through all disguise, casts off all drapery and pretext and colour, and in the course of time stands forth as the name of that thing which was to be ignored even while it was indicated, so in the case now before us.'

evermore effecting in the ranks of a language, that much might be done by writers of authority and influence in the way of bringing back deserters, where they are capable of yielding good service still, and placing them in the ranks again ; still more in that of detaining words which, finding no honourable employment, seem disposed to be gone, and even now are keeping out of the way, though they have not as yet actually disappeared. This would be the less difficult from the fact that in almost every instance these words, obsolete or obsolescent, which our literary English knows, or is about to know, no more, live on, as has been already noted, in one or more of our provincial dialects ; they do not therefore require, as dead, that life should be breathed into them anew ; but only, as having retired into obscurity for a while, that some one draw them forth from this obscurity again. Of these there are multitudes. If I instance a very few, it is not as specially recommending them for rehabilitation, though some of them are well worthy of it, and capable of doing good service still ; but as showing to what kind of work I invite.

It is indeed to the poet mainly, although not exclusively, that this task of retaining or recovering words more or less archaic must belong. 'That high-flying liberty of conceit' which is proper to him will justify liberties on his part which would be denied to the less impassioned writer of prose.[1] It is felt by all

[1] Jean Paul (*Æsthetik*, § 83) : Ueberhaupt bildet und nährt die Prose ihre Sprachkraft an der Poesie, denn diese muss immer mit neuen Federn steigen, wenn die alten, die ihren Flügeln ausfallen, die Prose zum Schreiben nimmt. Wie diese

that with the task which is before him, he has a right to all the assistances which the language, strained to the uttermost, is capable of yielding. This liberty Tennyson in our own day has not been slow to use. Thus 'to burgeon' had well-nigh disappeared from the language since the time of Dryden, but has by him on more occasions than one been employed. 'Holts,' also, for wooded tops of hills, has been recovered by him. It is to him too we owe the bringing back of the verb 'to sough' ('the *soughing* reeds'); the noun Wordsworth had brought back already ('the pine-woods' steady *sough*'). A poet too, though hardly any other, might recal the fine old poetic word 'brim,' with much the same variety of meaning as the modern 'brave.' But not to him only such a privilege is conceded. The verb 'to hearten' was as good as dead

aus Dichtkunst entstand, so wächst sie auch an ihr. Ewald (*Die poet. Bücher des Alten Bundes*, p. 53): Endlich aber ist der Dichter nicht bloss so der freieste Herrscher und Schöpfer im Gebiete der Sprache seiner Zeit, er spricht auch am wärmsten und frischesten aus der Zeit und dem Orte, woran seine Empfindungen zunächst geknüpft sind; seine Sprache ist bei aller Würde und Höhe zugleich die heimischste und eigenthümlichste, weil sie am reinsten und anspruchlosesten aus dem ganzen menschlichen Sein des Einzelnen fliesst. Der Dichter kann also freier und leichter abweichende Farben und Stoffe der Sprache seiner nächsten Heimath und seiner eigenen Zeit einfliessen lassen, und während die Prosa eine einmal festgewordene Form schwer ändert, bereichert und verjüngt sich die Dichtersprache beständig durch Aufnahme des Dialectischen, welches in die herrschende Prosa nicht übergegangen, und durch den Eindrang von Stoffen der Volkssprache, welche doch immer mannigfaltiger ist, weil die unerschöpfliche Quelle lebendiger Sprache auch unvermerkt sich immer verändert und fortbildet. Compare Goethe, *Werke*, 1836, vol. v. p. 68.

till Mr. Grote by his frequent employment of it in his *History of Greece*, gave it life again. Southey and others did the like for 'to worsen,' surely a better word than 'to deteriorate.' 'Overlord,' with which all readers of Mr. Freeman must be familiar, and which is often a vast improvement on 'suzerain,' is in like manner a revival; it occurs in the *Ormulum*.

But how much more in this line of things might be accomplished than yet has been done. 'To sagg,' a Shakespearian word, too good to lose, is alive almost everywhere in England except in our literary dialect; thus a tired horse 'saggs' his head; an ill-hung gate 'saggs' on its hinges. 'To gaster' and 'to flayte,'—they are synonyms, but the first is rather to terrify, and the second to scare,—are frequent in the Puritan writers of East Anglia; and still alive on men's lips. Perhaps 'to fleck' is not gone; nor yet 'to shimmer;' but both are in danger of going. Coleridge supposed that he had invented 'aloofness;' it is well worthy of acceptance; but if it has been accepted, which is not yet perfectly clear, he only revived a word which was in use two hundred years ago. 'Well-willer,' 'ill-willer,' both frequent in North's *Plutarch*, are good and unpretending words. 'Litherness,' as expressing a want of moral backbone in the character, has gone, without leaving a substitute behind it. 'Elfish' and 'elfishness,' both of them implying a certain inborn and mischievous waywardness, have done the same.[1] Drayton, among other grand qualities which

[1] Thus Chaucer:

'He seemeth *elvish* by his countenance,
For unto no wight doth he daliaunce.'

Prioress's Tale.

he ascribes to the English race, describes them as 'attemptive,' or prompt for high attempts. Does any other word say exactly what this says? 'Damish' (Rogers), applied in blame to proud imperious women, 'wearish' in the sense of small, weak, shrunken (thus, 'a wearish old man,' Burton), 'masterous,' or 'maistrous' as Milton spells it, in that of overbearing, 'kittle,' an epithet given to persons of a certain delicate organization, and thus touchy and easily offended, 'soggy,' an epithet which in Devonshire would still be given to a field soaked with wet, 'birdwitted,' or incapable of keeping the attention fixed for long on any single point (Bacon), 'afterwitted,' applied by Tyndale to one having what the French call *l'esprit de l'escalier*, who always remembers what he should have said, when, having left the room, it is too late to say it, with others innumerable, may each of them singly be no serious loss, but when these losses may be counted by hundreds and thousands, they are no slight impoverishment of our vocabulary; and assuredly it would not be impossible to win some of these back again. There are others, such as Baxter's 'word-warriors,' strivers, that is, about words, as 'hopelosts' (Grimeston's *Polybius*, and responding to the Greek ἄσωτοι), as 'bookhunger' (Lord Brooke), as 'little-ease,' a place, that is, of painful restraint, as 'realmrape' (= usurpation, *Mirror for Magistrates*), as 'housedoves,' effeminate stay-at-home people (North), the same who in Sussex would have the name of 'fire-spaniels,' spaniels, that is, which lie before the fire, as 'to witwanton' (Fuller warns men that they do not 'witwanton with God'), to 'canker-fret' ('sin cankerfrets the soul,' Rogers), which all, though never in popular use, seem to me happier than

that they should be allowed to die. Great caution and moderation it is true, should be used in this reviving or detaining of words. Quintilian has some prudent warnings here. Of new words, he says, the oldest are the best; of old the newest; while Seneca mocks at the 'antiquaries,' as they were called; men, as he describes them, who spoke the Twelve Tables; for whom Gracchus and Curio were too recent.[1]

We have to thank the American branch of the English-speaking race that we have not lost 'freshet' (an exquisite word, used by Milton), 'snag' (Spenser), 'bluff,' 'kedge,' 'slick,'[2] 'to whittle,' 'to cave in,' 'to prink,' 'to rile,' 'to snarl' (= to entangle). They are often counted as American neologies, but are indeed nothing of the kind. There is scarcely one of them, of which examples could not be found in our earlier literature, and in provincial dialects they are current every one to this present day.[3] Even 'the fall,' as equivalent to the autumn, is not properly American; being as old as Dryden, and older.[4] 'Betterment,' too, as equivalent to improvement is in *The Pilgrim's Progress*; and in the writings of Jackson.

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[1] Gerber, *Sprache als Kunst*, vol. i. p. 436.

[2] 'Slick' is indeed only another form of 'sleek.' Thus Fuller (*Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, vol. ii. p. 190): 'Sure I am this city [the New Jerusalem] as presented by the prophet, was fairer, finer, *slicker*, smoother, more exact, than any fabric the earth afforded.'

[3] Nall, *Dialect and Provincialisms of East Anglia*, s. vv.

[4] 'What crowds of patients the town-doctor kills,
Or how last *fall* he raised the weekly bills.'

But besides these deserters, of which some at least might with great advantage be recalled to the ranks, there are other words, which have never found a place in our literary English, that yet might be profitably adopted into it. A time arrives for a language, when, apart from the recoveries I have just been speaking of, its own local and provincial dialects are almost the only sources from which it can obtain additions, such as shall really constitute an increase of its wealth; while yet such additions from one quarter or another are most needful, if it is to find any compensations for the waste which is evermore going forward of the wealth that in time past it possessed, if, in fact, it is not day by day to grow poorer. We have seen how words wear out, become unserviceable, how the glory that clothed them once disappears, as the light fades from the hills; how they drop away from the stock and stem of the language, as dead leaves from their parent tree. Others therefore, a newer growth, must supply the place of these, if the foliage is not to grow sparser and thinner every day.

Before, however, we turn to the dialects with any confident expectation of obtaining effectual help from them, we must form a juster estimate of what they really are than is commonly entertained; they must

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So in the answer to Marlowe's *Passionate Pilgrim*, ascribed to Raleigh:

> 'A honey tongue, a heart of gall,
> Is fancy's *spring*, but sorrow's *fall*.'

On this matter of American-English compare a very interesting paper, with the title, 'Inroads upon English,' in *Blackwood's Magazine*, Oct. 1867, p. 399, sqq.

be redeemed in our minds from that unmerited contempt and neglect with which they are by too many regarded. We are prone to think of a dialect, as of a degraded, distorted, and vulgarised form of the classical language ; all its departures from this being for us violations of grammar, or injuries which in one shape or another it has suffered from the uneducated and illiterate by whom mainly it is employed. But all this is very far from the case. A dialect may not have our grammar, but it has its own.[1] If it have here and there a distorted or mutilated word, much oftener what we esteem such embodies some curious fact in the earlier history of the language. A dialect is one of the many forms in which a language once existed ; but one, as an eminent French writer has expressed it, which has had misfortunes ;[2] or which at any rate has not had

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[1] See in proof Barnes' *Grammar and Glossary of the Dorset Dialect* in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1864.

[2] Sainte-Beuve : Je définis un patois, une ancienne langue qui a eu des malheurs. Littré (*Hist. de la Langue Française*, vol. ii. p. 92) : Les faits de langue abondent dans les patois. Parce qu'ils offrent parfois un mot de la langue littéraire estropié ou quelque perversion manifeste de la syntaxe régulière, on a été porté á conclure que le reste est à l'avenant, et qu'ils sont, non pas une formation indépendante et originale, mais une corruption de l'idiome cultivé qui, tombé en des bouches mal apprises, y subit tous les supplices de la distorsion. Il n'en est rien ; quand on ôte ces taches peu nombreuses et peu profondes, on trouve un noyau sain et entier. Ce serait se faire une idée erronée que de considérer un patois comme du français altéré ; il n'y a eu aucun moment où ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui le français ait été uniformément parlé sur toute la surface de la France ; et, par conséquent, il n'y a pas eu de moment non plus où il ait pu s'altérer chez les paysans et le peuple des villes pour

the good fortune that befell High-German in Germany, Castilian in Spain, Tuscan in Italy ;—that namely of being elevated, under favourable circumstances not accorded to others, above its compeers and competitors to the dignity of the classical language of the land. As a consequence it will not have received the development, nor undergone the elaboration, which have been the portion of its more successful rival ; but for this very reason it will often have retained a freedom, a freshness, and a *naïveté* which the other has in large measure foregone and lost.[1]

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devenir un patois. Elsewhere the same writer says (vol. ii. p. 150) : Sauf l'usage des bons écrivains et de la société polie, sauf l'élaboration grammaticale (double avantage que je suis loin de vouloir atténuer), la langue littéraire n'est, non plus, qu'un patois ou dialecte élevé à la suprématie, et elle a, comme les autres, ses fautes et ses méprises.

[1] Littré (*Hist. de la Langue Française*, vol. ii. p. 130) : Un patois n'a pas d'écrivains qui le fixent, dans le sens où l'on dit que les bons auteurs fixent une langue ; un patois n'a pas les termes de haute poésie, de haute éloquence, de haut style, vu qu'il est placé sur un plan où les sujets qui comportent tout cela ne lui appartiennent plus. C'est ce qui lui donne une apparence de familiarité naïve, de simplicité narquoise, de rudesse grossière, de grâce rustique. Mais, sous cette apparence, qui provient de sa condition même, est un fonds solide de bon et vieux français qu'il faut toujours consulter. Compare Ampère, *La Formation de la Langue Française*, p. 381 ; and Schleicher (*Die Deutsche Sprache*, p. 110) : Die Mundarten nun sind die natürlichen, nach den Gesetzen der sprachgeschichtlichen Veränderungen gewordenen Formen der deutschen Sprache, im Gegensatze zu der mehr oder minder gemachten und schulmeisterisch geregelten und zugestutzten Sprache der Schrift. Schon hieraus folgt der hohe Werth derselben für die wissenschaftliche Erforschung unserer Sprache ; hier ist eine reiche Fülle von Worten und

Of its words, idioms, turns of speech, many which we are ready, in our half-knowledge, to set down as vulgarisms, solecisms of speech, violations of the primary rules of grammar, do no more than attest that those who employ them have from some cause or another not kept abreast with the progress which the language has made. The usages are only local in the fact that, having once been employed everywhere and by all, they have now receded from the lips of all except those in some certain country districts, who have been more faithful than others to the traditions of the past. Thus there are districts of England where for 'we sing,' 'ye sing,' 'they sing,' they decline their plurals, 'we singen,' 'ye singen,' 'they singen.' This was not indeed the original plural, but was that form of it which, coming up about Chaucer's time, was dying out in Spenser's. He indeed constantly employs it,[1] but after him it becomes ever rarer in our literary

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Formen, die, an sich gut und echt, von der Schriftsprache verschmäht wurden; hier finden wir manches, was wir zur Erklärung der älteren Sprachdenkmale, ja zur Erkenntniss der jetzigen Schriftsprache verwerthen können, abgesehen von dem sprachgeschichtlichen, dem lautphysiologischen Interesse, welches die überaus reiche Mannigfaltigkeit unserer Mundarten bietet.

[1] It must be owned that Spenser does not fairly represent the language of his time, or indeed of any time, affecting as he does a certain artificial archaism both of words and forms; and this unfortunately with no sufficient knowledge of the past history of the language to prevent him from falling into various mistakes. Some call in question the justice of this charge, and will fain have it that he does but write the oldest English of his time. I cannot so regard it. Jonson, born only twenty years later, could not have been mistaken; and with all its severity

English. In the *Homilies* I have met it once, in Drayton,[1] and even so late as in Fuller: but in his time it quite disappears.

Now of those who retain such forms you should

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there is a truth in his observation, 'Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language.' And Daniel, born some ten years later, implicitly repeats the charge:

> 'Let others sing of knights and paladins
> In *aged* accents and *untimely* words.'

See too the remarkable Epistle prefixed by the anonymous Editor to his *Shepherd's Calendar*, where the writer glories in the archaic character of the author on whom he is annotating. In the matter, however, which is treated above Ben Jonson was at one with him, himself expressing a strong regret that these inflections had not been retained. 'The persons plural,' he says (*English Grammar*, c. xvii.), 'keep the termination of the first person singular. In former times till about the reign of King Henry VIII., they were wont to be formed by adding *en*; thus *loven*, *sayen*, *complainen*. But now (whatsoever is the cause) it hath quite grown out of use, and that other so generally prevailed, that I dare not presume to set this afoot again; albeit (to tell you my opinion) I am persuaded that the lack hereof, well considered, will be found a great blemish to our tongue. For seeing *time* and *person* be as it were the right and left hand of a verb, what can the maiming bring else, but a lameness to the whole body?' This statement, let me observe by the way, needs to be a little modified. Until about Chaucer this termination in 'en' was common in perfects; thus 'they makeden' = they made; but not in presents; thus not 'they maken,' but the older 'they maketh.' Neither Chaucer, however, nor Gower observes this distinction; but, as usual, analogy carries the day; what was good for one tense is assumed to be good also for another; and by both these poets 'they maken' is as freely used as 'they makeden'—this also in due time, as Jonson remarks, to give place to our present use.

[1] 'The happy shepherds *minsen* on the plain.'

esteem not that they violate the laws of the language, but that they have taken their *permanent* stand at that which was only a point or stage of transition for it, and which it has now left behind. A countryman will nowadays say, 'The price of corn *ris* last market-day,' or 'I will *axe* him his name;' or 'I tell *ye*,' and you will be tempted to set these phrases down as barbarous English. They are not such at all. 'Ris' or 'risse' is an old preterite of 'to rise;' 'to axe' is not a mispronunciation of 'to ask,' but the constant form which in southern English this word assumed; while 'ye' is treated as an accusative by the dramatists of the Elizabethan period; and indeed it was for long a question what should be the ultimate relations between 'ye' and 'you.' Even such a phrase as 'Put *them* things away,' is not bad, but only antiquated English.[1]

[1] Génin (*Récréations Philologiques*, vol. i. p. 71) says to the same effect: Il n'y a guères de faute de français, je dis faute générale, accréditée, qui n'ait sa raison d'être, et ne pût au besoin produire ses lettres de noblesse; et souvent mieux en règle que celles des locutions qui ont usurpé leur place au soleil. The French Academy, in the Preface to the last edition of the *Dictionnaire Historique de la Langue Française*, p. xv., warns against similar acts of injustice, into which, trying the past by the rules of the present, we are in danger of falling: Ces écrivains y seront quelquefois défendus contre d'indiscrètes critiques, qui leur ont reproché comme des fautes de langage ce qui n'était que l'emploi légitime de la langue de leur temps. A chaque époque s'établissent des habitudes, des conventions, des règles même, auxquelles n'ont pu assurément se conformer par avance les écrivains des époques antérieures, et qu'il n'est ni juste ni raisonnable de leur opposer, comme s'il s'agissait de ces premiers principes dont l'autorité est absolue et universelle. C'est pourtant en vertu de cette jurisprudence rétroactive qu'ont

'Waps,' which we hear constantly, is not a malformation of 'wasp,' but only the earlier form of the word, 'wæps' or 'weaps' in Anglo-Saxon. 'Ouren,' or 'ourn,' as our rustics in the South of England so freely use it (cf. Gen. xxvi. 20, Wiclif, and often), has been disallowed by those classes with which rests the final decision as to what shall stand in a language and what shall not; but it is in itself as correct as 'ours.' 'Hern' too for 'hers' is frequent in Wiclif. When you hear a country lad speaking dissyllabically of 'nestes,' where you would say 'nests,' he is only clinging to a form which you have let go, but which will meet you in every page of Chaucer, and in almost every one of Spenser. The upper classes do not say now, 'It is all along (gelang) of you that this happened;' but it is good English. You are not indeed to conclude from all this that such forms are open to you to employ, or that they would be good English now. They would not; being departures from that present use and custom, which must constitute our standard in what we speak and write; just as in our buying and selling we must use the current coin of the realm, not attempt to pass money which long since has been called in, whatever intrinsic value it may possess.

The same may be said of certain ways of pronouncing words, not now in use except among the lower classes; thus, 'contráry,' 'mischiévous,' 'blasphémous,' instead of 'cóntrary,' 'míschievous,' 'blásphemous.'

été condamnées, chez d'excellents auteurs, des manières de parler alors admises, et auxquelles un long abandon n'a pas toujours enlevé ce qu'elles avaient de grâce et de vivacité.

It would be easy to show by quotations from our poets that these are no mispronunciations, but only the retention of an earlier pronunciation by the people, after the higher classes have abandoned it.[1] And let me here observe how well worth your while it will prove to watch for provincial words and inflections, local idioms and modes of pronunciation; and where you meet to take notice of them. Count nothing in this kind beneath your attention. Do not at once ascribe any departure from what you have been used to, either in grammar, or pronunciation, or meaning ascribed to words, to the ignorance or stupidity of the speaker or writer. Thus refrain from counting 'em' a mutilation of 'them.' It is a word which had its own place in the language, though it has not been able to keep this. If you hear 'nuncheon,' as indeed you always will hear on the lips of our Hampshire peasantry, do not at once set this down for a malformation of 'luncheon,'[2] they are independent

[1] A single proof may in each case suffice:

'Our wills and fates do so *contráry* run.'—*Shakespeare.*

'Ne let *mischiévous* witches with their charms.'—*Spenser.*

'O argument *blasphémous*, false and proud.'—*Milton.*

[2] In Howell's *Vocabulary*, 1659, and in Cotgrave's *French and English Dictionary*, both words occur: 'nuncion or nuncheon, the afternoon's repast' (cf. *Hudibras*, i. 1, 346: 'They took their breakfasts or their *nuncheons*'), and 'lunchion, a big piece,' *i.e.* of bread; both giving 'caribot,' which has this meaning, as the French equivalent; and compare Gay:

'When hungry thou stood'st staring like an oaf,
I sliced the *luncheon* from the barley loaf;'

and Miss Baker (*Northamptonshire Glossary*) explains 'lunch' as 'a large lump of bread, or other edible; "he helped himself to a good *lunch* of cake."'

words, nor 'yeel'[1] of 'eel.' If a 'boil' in the language of your poorer neighbours becomes a 'bile,' count that they have done no more than retain the older pronunciation which you have left behind. Indeed you will find the word so spelt by Sir John Cheke, as also in the first edition of the Authorized Version of Scripture (1611). Our best bred ancestors not many generations back, would all have spoken of a 'jinte' of meat, while rhymes such as 'join' and 'wine' (they are of constant occurrence in the poets of the seventeenth century) were by no means once those imperfect rhymes which we regard them now. Lists and collections of provincial usage, such as I have suggested, always have their value. If you cannot turn them to profit yourselves, and they may not stand in close enough connection with your own studies for this, there are always those who will thank you for them; and to whom the humblest of these collections, carefully and conscientiously made, will be in one way or other of real assistance.[2] Philological experts, it is probable, will not thank you much for your etymologies, which, indeed, may be advantageously omitted; but they will for your facts and for your words. There is the more need to urge this at the present, because, notwithstanding the tenacity

[1] Holland (*Pliny*, vol. ii. p. 428, and often) writes it so; and see on this initial 'y,' Barnes, *Dorsetshire Poems*, passim.

[2] An article *On English Pronouns Personal* in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, vol. i. p. 277, attests the excellent service which an accurate acquaintance with provincial usages may render in the investigation of perplexing phenomena in English grammar. Compare Guest, *History of English Rhythms*, vol. ii. p. 207.

with which our country folk cling to their old forms and uses, still these must now be rapidly growing fewer; and there are forces, moral and material, at work in England, which will probably cause that of those now surviving, the greater number will within the next fifty years have disappeared. Many even now are only to be gathered up by patient gleaners like Miss Baker; and by them only from such scattered and remote villages as have not yet been exposed to the ravages of the schoolmaster, or the inroads of the railway.

What has been just now said of our provincial English, namely, that it is often *old* English rather than *bad* English, is not less true of many so-called Americanisms.[1] There are parts of America where 'het' is still the participle of 'to heat' (if our Authorized Version had not undergone some very unauthorized revision, we should so read it at Dan. iii. 19 to this day); where 'holp' still survives as the perfect of 'to help;' 'pled' (as in Spenser) of 'to plead.' Longfellow uses 'dove' as the perfect of 'to dive;' nor is this a poetical license alone. I lately met the same in a well-written American book of prose.

The dialects then are worthy of respectful study—and if in their grammar, so in their vocabulary no less. If the sage or the scholar were required to invent a word which should designate the slight meal claimed in some of our southern counties by the labourer before he begins his mowing in the early dawn, they might be sorely perplexed to do it. The Dorsetshire

[1] See Bartlett, *Dictionary of Americanisms*, passim.

labourer, who demands his 'dewbit,' has solved the difficulty. In the same dialect they express in a single word that a house has a northern aspect; it is 'back-sunned.' You have marked the lighting of the sky between the horizon and the clouds when these last are about to break up and disappear. Whatever name you gave it you would hardly improve on that of the 'weather-gleam,' which in some of our dialects it bears. Then, too, there is a certain humour in calling frogs 'fen-nightingales;' a good scolding 'a dish of tongues' (Sussex dialect). I had long supposed that 'chair-days,' the beautiful name for those days of old age when strong outward activity has ceased, was of Shakespeare's own invention; occurring as it does in young Clifford's pathetic lament for his slain father.[1] But this is a mistake; in Lancashire, as I learn, the phrase is current still. And this is what we find continually, namely, that the true art of word-making, which is hidden from the wise and learned of this world, is revealed to the husbandman, the mechanic, the child. Spoken as the dialects are by the actual tillers of the soil, they will often be inconceivably rich in words having to do with the processes of husbandry; thus ripe corn blown about by strong winds, or beaten down by rain or hail, may in East Anglia be said either to be 'baffled,' or 'nickled,' or 'snaffled,' or 'shuckled,' or 'wilted,'[2] each of these terms having its own shade of meaning; when

[1] 2 *Henry VI.*, act v. sc. 2.

[2] See Nall, *Dialect of East Anglia*, s. vv. 'To wilt,' provincial with us, not so in America (Marsh, *Lectures*, 1860, p. 668).

thoroughly soaked and spoiled by wet, it is 'water-slain.' Spoken by those who are in constant and close contact with external nature, the dialects will often possess a far richer and more varied nomenclature to set forth the various and changing features of this than the literary language itself. Professor Max Müller, in a passage of singular eloquence on the subject of 'dialectical regeneration,'[1] claims the dialects as the true feeders of a language: 'We can hardly form an idea of the unbounded resources of dialects. When literary languages have stereotyped one general term, their dialects will supply fifty, each with its own special shade of meaning. If new combinations of thought are evolved in the progress of society, dialects will readily supply the required names from the store of their so-called superfluous words.'[2]

[1] *On the Science of Language*, 1st part, p. 60.

[2] Compare Heyse, *System der Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 299; and Géruzez, who in his admirable *Hist. de la Littérature Française*, vol. i. p. 19, has said on this matter: Ce recrutement nécessaire doit s'opérer non par voie d'invasion tumultueuse ou de capricieuse création. Il y a plusieurs moyens d'y pourvoir régulièrement: c'est d'abord la reprise des mots et des tournures qui ont été délaissés par inadvertence ou juste dédain. En effet chez nos vieux auteurs qui ont été des maîtres et qui ne sont plus des modèles il y a bien des richesses enfouies qui ne demandent qu'à reparaître. Les langues anciennes, mères de la nôtre, peuvent encore lui fournir quelques aliments. Nous pouvons aussi, avec de grandes précautions toutefois, faire d'heureux emprunts à nos voisins. Mais la source la plus saine et la plus abondante, la vraie fontaine de Jouvence pour la langue littéraire, c'est la langue populaire, qui fermente toujours; ce sont les dialectes spéciaux des arts, des métiers, des jeux même où les mots naissent spontanément des mouvements et des besoins de la pensée et reçoivent une empreinte vivante de la

Thus a brook, a streamlet, a rivulet are all very well, but what discriminating power do they possess as compared with a 'burn,' a 'beck,'[1] a 'gill,' a 'force,' North-country words, each with a special signification of its own?

Words from the local dialects are continually slipping into the land's language, and making a home for themselves there. Thus 'fads,' as equivalent to silly whims, is no invention of the present day, but a North-country word which not long ago reached us from the provinces. 'Fractious,' in like manner, which is not found in our early literature, seems to have travelled by the same paths; in any case has nothing to do with *frango*. 'Donkey,' which is neither in Todd's *Johnson*, nor in *Richardson*, and 'pony,' a Gaelic word, new, though not quite so new, have to all appearance done the same. 'Gruesome,' which has always lived in Scotland, is creeping back into English (it it used by Browning); with words not a few from the same higher latitudes, as 'blink,' 'bonnie,' 'braw,' 'canny,' 'daft,' 'douce,' 'dour,' 'eerie,' 'fash,' 'feckless,' 'foregather,' 'glamour,' 'glint,' 'gloaming,' 'glower,' 'raid,' 'skirl,' 'uncanny,' 'winsome,' all excellent in their kind. Wordsworth has given allow-

vie même de l'intelligence. Ceux-là seuls sont de bonne venue et destinés à vivre. Les mots qu'on forge dans le cabinet manquent de grâce et durent peu. Nisard (*Curiosités de l'Etymol. Franç.* p. 90): Les patois sont à la fois l'asile où s'est réfugiée en partie l'ancienne langue française, et le dépôt où se gardent les éléments de la nouvelle.

[1] A 'burn' and 'beck' are distinguished thus: 'A burn winds slowly along meadows and originates from small springs, whereas a beck is formed by water collected on the side of mountains, and proceeds with a rapid stream' (Willan).

ance to 'force,' the North-country name for a waterfall; and, if my memory do not err, to 'beck,' and 'burn' as well.[1] 'Clever' is an excellent example of a low-born word which almost without observation has found its way into good society; though meaning one thing in our dialects, another in America (see Webster), and another in our standard English. Sir Thomas Browne noted it two centuries ago as an East Anglian provincialism, and Ray as dialectic. Barlow in his *Dictionary*, 1772, warns us that 'it should never make its way into books,' while Johnson protests against it as 'a low word, scarcely ever used but in burlesque or conversation.' The facts of the case did not, even when he wrote, quite bear this statement out; but there can be little doubt that it is a *parvenu*,

[1] What use Luther made of the popular language in his translation of the Bible he has himself told us, and in this is one secret of its epoch-marking character. These are his words: Man muss nicht die Buchstaben in der lateinischen Sprache fragen, wie man soll deutsche reden; sondern man muss die Mutter im Hause, die Kinder auf den Gassen, den gemeinen Mann auf dem Markte darum fragen, und denselben auf das Maul sehen, wie sie reden. What a real acquisition the verb 'klirren' is in German. It is a provincial word which first found its way into a written book in 1738, and not into the German Dictionaries till a good deal later (see Grimm, *Wörterbuch*, s. v.). The French 'gamin' dates no farther back than 1835, see my *Study of Words*, 17th ed. p. 220. Montaigne, who owes not a little of his reputation to his wonderful style, pleads guilty to the charge brought in his lifetime against him, that he employed not a few words and idioms which, till he gave them a wider circulation, belonged to his native Gascony alone. Goethe too has obtained general allowance for words not a few, which were only provincial before him.

which has been gradually struggling up to the position which it has now obtained. The suggestion is a very interesting one, that 'clever' is a corruption of 'deliver,' in the sense of nimble or active. Certainly it is very noticeable that the one word comes forward exactly as the other disappears.[1] 'Stingy' was in Sir Thomas Browne's time and in his estimation 'a new coined word.' It was in all likelihood, to speak more exactly, a provincial word making its way in his time into more general circulation. 'Tiny' was 'a burlesque word,' whatever this may mean, for Johnson, 'touchy' a 'low' one. 'Fun' too, of which our earlier Dictionaries know nothing, was 'a low cant word' in his day and in his estimation. Dwight assumes its identity with the German 'wonne.'[2]

So much has been done in this matter, the language has been so largely reinforced, so manifestly enriched by words which either it has received back after a longer or shorter absence, or which in later days it has drawn from the dialects and enlisted for general service, as to afford abundant encouragement for attempting much more in the same direction. But these suggestions must for the present suffice. I reserve for my next lecture the other half of my treatment of a subject very far from being half exhausted.[3]

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[1] See this point excellently worked out in Palmer's *Leaves from a Word-hunter's Note Book*, pp. 243–258.

[2] *Philology*, 2nd series, page 259.

[3] I would not willingly leave this part of my subject without something said on the main dialects of the land, as they have made their several contributions to that which is now recognized here and wherever English is spoken as the rule and standard

by which all other English must be tried, and in the measure of its departure from this, condemned. The clear recognition of the fact that there is not one Old English, but several, that Modern English, though indebted *most* largely to one of these, is largely indebted to them all, being the result of a tacit compromise between them, is perhaps the most important step in advance which the study of English in recent times has made. The recognition of this belongs to the last forty years, and one hardly exaggerates who has said that 'it has brought order, where there was only chaos and confusion before.' Mr. Garnett has the honour of being the first, not indeed to call attention to the varying dialects, but the first to classify them, to register their several peculiarities, to define the areas over which they severally prevailed, and to estimate the contributions which they severally made to our standard English. This he did in an article in the *Quarterly Review*, 1836, reprinted in his *Philological Essays*, 1859, pp 41–77. The fact that there was a Northern, a Southern, and a Midland English, each with its own characteristics, and that the English which we speak and write is the result of the triumph, a partial not a complete triumph, of one among them, was known long before. I quote in proof a remarkable passage from Puttenham's *Art of Poesy*, of date 1589 (I need hardly observe that by a 'maker' he means a poet): 'Our maker therefore at these days shall not follow Piers Plowman, nor Gower, nor Lydgate, nor yet Chaucer, for their language is now out of use with us: neither shall he take the terms of Northern-men, such as they use in daily talk, whether they be noblemen, or gentlemen, or their best clerks, all is a matter; nor in effect any speech used beyond the river of Trent. Though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so courtly nor so current as our *Southern English* is; no more is the far Western man's speech. Ye shall therefore take the usual speech of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within sixty miles, and not much above.' We have since improved upon Puttenham's nomenclature, his 'Southern' being what we now call Midland, even as we are wont more accurately to define the exact area over which this, destined to be the ruling dialect of the land, was spoken. In explanation of the steps by which this

English obtained its pre-eminence, I quote, but with great reluctance immensely abridging, some words of Mr. Freeman in his *Norman Conquest*, vol. v. p. 541 : 'The fourteenth century had to fix what kind of English should become the acknowledged language of England ; which of the many dialects of English should come to the front and become the standard English tongue. The Northern dialect, the Anglian of Northumberland, modified under Scandinavian influences, had no chance. The tongue of York was not likely to become the standard of language at the Court either of Winchester or of Westminster. It might perhaps have been thought among the various dialects the one which would come to the front would be the true Saxon speech of the South, the tongue both of the elder and the younger capital. But in cases of this kind, when dialects are left to themselves, that which wins in the long run is likely to be a dialect which holds a middle place between extremes at both ends. It was neither the Northern nor the Southern, neither the broadly Anglian nor the broadly Saxon variety of our language which was to set the standard of the English tongue. Without pretending to fix the geographical limit very exactly, there can be no doubt that the English language, in the form which has been classical ever since the fourteenth century, is the language of the shires bordering on the great monastic region of the Fenland, the tongue of Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Rutland, and Holland. Classical English is neither Northern nor Southern, but Midland.'

Other excellent words from another pen on the same matter are as follow : 'In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the three English Dialects—the Southern, Midland, and Northern—had held equal rank as practically distinct languages, each sovereign in its own territory, and each boasting its own literature. When a work which had been produced in one dialect had to be reproduced for the speakers of another, it was not a simple transcription, but a *translation* which had to be made. The man who lived north of the Humber was only partially intelligible when he wrote, probably altogether unintelligible when he spoke, to the man who lived south of the Thames. But as the country became more consolidated into a national unity, and its extremities more closely drawn together, the Midland dialect,

which united the characteristics of the other two, and was moreover the form of speech used at the great seats of learning, where Northern and Southern thought were blended in one, began to stand forth as the medium of a common literature, the language of education and culture. In proportion as the Midland dialect acquired this pre-eminence, the dialects of the North and South, understood only in their own localities, ceased to be employed for literary purposes, and sank gradually into the position of local and rustic patois. By the close of the fifteenth century there was thus but one standard language acknowledged, namely, that founded upon the old Midland tongue' (Murray, *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 45).

At the same time it must be borne in mind that our present standard English is indebted to almost all the other dialects for certain grammatical and lexicographical forms whose special provincial origin is now forgotten or lost sight of. No one dialect of our old English is competent to account for all our present grammar and vocabulary. The history of our pronouns, for instance, must be gathered from a study of the old Northern literature; while our verb necessitates a knowledge of Northern and Midland peculiarities. The Midland wins the day, but not without many concessions to its less successful rivals, above all to the Northern, and these alike in flexions and single words, in the Grammar and in the Dictionary. And first in the Grammar. The Northern 'are' (earlier 'arn') is the third plural of 'am,' gets the better of 'beoth' (='be'); which indeed still survives, as when we say 'to whom all hearts *be* open,' but is, and is felt to be, more or less of an archaism. The dropping in past participles of the prefix 'ge,' already often worn down to 'i' or 'y,' a prefix which modern German has been so careful to retain, is another triumph of Anglian over Southern speech. It is still frequent, but as a survival, in Spenser, 'yblent,' 'ytake,' 'ytorn,' 'ygot,' 'yborne,' and the like. Milton too has used it a few times, 'yclept,' 'ychained,' 'star-i-pointing;' this last a blunder, for it is a passive and not an active prefix. Then too the Southern plural 'en' gives place to the Anglian 'es' or 's,' 'en' only surviving in about half a dozen words, such as 'oxen,' 'brethren,' and provincially in a few more, such as 'housen,' 'cheesen.' So too, though the language of the Danelagh could

not in the end displace our Saxon English any more than the Sweyns and the Canutes could found an enduring Danish dynasty, a large number of Danish words did in the struggle for existence get the better of words more properly English, put these out of use, and push their own way into every corner of the land, finally taking their place in its recognized speech. Thus 'to plough' has been too strong for 'to ear,' though this last was not without support from our English Bible. In like manner the Northern 'to ask' has triumphed over the Southern 'to axe' (acsian), a vulgarism now. 'Cross,'—the Scandinavian 'kross,' not the French 'croix,'—has put 'rood,' and the more the pity, out of use; this last only surviving in 'rood-screen' and 'rood-loft.' The Northern 'with' has been too much for the Southern 'mid,' identical with the High German 'mit;' 'their' too and 'them,' both Northern, have put out of written use 'her' and 'hem' of Middle English. But this subject, despite of all the interest which it possesses, I can dwell on no further. For a good conspectus of the chief Old English Dialects, and their relation to one another, see Morris, *English Accidence*, pp. 41–47.

LECTURE VI.

DIMINUTIONS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

(CONTINUED.)

WHAT in my last preceding lecture has been said must suffice in respect of the words, and the character of the words, which we have lost or let go. Of these, indeed, if a language, as it travels onwards, loses some, it also acquires others, and probably many more than it loses; they are leaves on the tree of language, of which, if some wither and drop, a new succession takes their place. But it is not so, as I already observed, with the *forms* or *powers* of a language, that is, with the various inflexions, moods, duplicate or triplicate formation of tenses, and the like. Not a few of these the speakers of a language come gradually to perceive that they can do without; which therefore they cease to employ; seeking to suppress grammatical intricacies, and to obtain grammatical simplicity and, so far as possible, a pervading uniformity, sometimes even at the cost of letting go what had real worth, and contributed to the livelier, if not the clearer, setting forth of the inner thought or feeling of the mind.[1] Here there is

[1] It has been well said, 'There is nothing more certain than this, that the earlier we can trace back any one language, the

only loss, with no compensating gain; or, at all events, diminution only, and never acquisition. In this region no productive energy is at work during the later periods of a language, or indeed during any save quite the earliest, and such as are withdrawn from our observation altogether. These are not as the leaves, of which a new succession takes the place of the old; but may be likened to the leading branches of a tree, whose shape, mould, and direction are determined for it at a very early stage of its growth; and which age, or accident, or violence may make fewer, but which never can become more numerous than they are. I have already noticed a familiar example of this, namely, the dropping within historic times of the dual in Greek. Already in Homer's time it was losing its hold; he writes δυ' Αἴαντες as freely as δύω Αἴαντε.

more full, complete, and consistent are its forms; that the later we find it existing, the more compressed, colloquial and business-like it has become. Like the trees of our forests, it grows at first wild, luxuriant, rich in foliage, full of light and shadow, and flings abroad in its vast branches the fruits of a youthful and vigorous nature; transplanted to the garden of civilisation and trained for the purposes of commerce, it becomes regulated, trimmed, pruned—nature indeed still gives it life, but art prescribes the direction and extent of its vegetation. Always we perceive a compression, a gradual loss of fine distinctions, a perishing of forms, terminations, and conjugations in the younger state of the language. The truth is, that in a language up to a certain period, there is a real indwelling vitality, a principle acting unconsciously, but pervasively in every part: men wield their forms of speech as they do their limbs—spontaneously, knowing nothing of their construction or the means by which these instruments possess their power. It may be even said that the commencement of the age of self-consciousness is identical with the close of that of vitality in language.'

And not in Greek only; elsewhere too it has been felt that this dual was not worth preserving, or at all events that no serious inconvenience would follow from its dismissal. There is no such number in the modern German, Danish or Swedish; in the old German and Norse there was. In other words, the stronger logic of a later day has 'found no reason for splitting the idea of *moreness* into *twoness* and *muchness*,' as Mommsen has quaintly put it.

How many niceties, delicacies, subtleties of expression, *we*, speakers of the English tongue, in the course of centuries have got rid of; how bare (whether too bare is another question) we have stripped ourselves; what simplicity, for better or for worse, reigns in the present English, as compared with the same in earlier stages of its existence. Once it owned six declensions, it owns at present but one; it had three genders, while English as it now is, if we except one or two words, has none; and the same fact meets us, at what point soever we compare the grammar of the past with that of the present. Let me here repeat that in an estimate of the gain or loss, we must not put certainly to loss everything which a language has dismissed, any more than everything to gain which it has acquired. Unnecessary and superfluous forms are no real wealth. They are often an embarrassment and an encumbrance rather than a help. The Finnish language, which has fifteen cases,[1] need not excite the envy of those which may have only five. The half, or less than the half, will often here prove more than the whole. Dr. Bleek, than whom

[1] Barnes, *Philological Grammar*, p. 106.

there can be on this subject no higher authority, informs us that 'in Bushman from fifty to sixty different ways of forming the plural occur'—surely no very enviable wealth. It therefore seems to me that some words of Otfried Müller, in many ways admirable, exaggerate the disadvantages consequent on a reduction of the forms of a language. 'It may be observed,' he says, 'that in the lapse of ages, from the time that the progress of language can be observed, grammatical forms, such as the signs of cases, moods, and tenses, have never been increased in number, but have been constantly diminishing. The history of the Romance, as well as of the Germanic, languages shows in the clearest manner how a grammar, once powerful and copious, has been gradually weakened and impoverished, until at last it preserves only a few fragments of its ancient inflexions. Now there is no doubt that this luxuriance of grammatical forms is not an essential part of a language considered merely as a vehicle of thought. It is well known that the Chinese language, which is merely a collection of radical words destitute of grammatical forms, can express even philosophical ideas with tolerable precision; and the English, which, from the mode of its formation by a mixture of different tongues, has been stripped of its grammatical inflexions more completely than any other European language, seems, nevertheless, even to a foreigner, to be distinguished by its energetic eloquence. All this must be admitted by every unprejudiced inquirer; but yet it cannot be overlooked, that this copiousness of grammatical forms, and the fine shades of meaning which they express, evince a nicety of observation, and a faculty of distinguishing,

which unquestionably prove that the race of mankind among whom these languages arose was characterized by a remarkable correctness and subtlety of thought. Nor can any modern European, who forms in his mind a lively image of the classical languages in their ancient grammatical luxuriance, and compares them with his mother tongue, conceal from himself that in the ancient languages the words, with their inflexions, clothed as it were with muscles and sinews, come forward like living bodies, full of expression and character, while in the modern tongues the words seem shrunk up into mere skeletons.'[1]

Whether languages are as much impoverished by this process as is here assumed, may be fairly questioned. Let me offer some materials which shall assist you in judging for yourselves on the matter;[2] not

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[1] *Literature of Greece*, p. 5.

[2] I will also append the judgment of another scholar (Renan, *Les Langues Sémitiques*, p. 412): 'Bien loin de se représenter l'état actuel comme le développement d'un germe primitif moins complet et plus simple que l'état qui a suivi, les plus profonds linguistes sont unanimes pour placer à l'enfance de l'esprit humain des langues synthétiques, obscures, compliquées, si compliquées même que c'est le besoin d'un langage plus facile qui a porté les générations postérieures à abandonner la langue savante des ancêtres. Il serait possible, en prenant l'une après l'autre les langues de presque tous les pays où l'humanité a une histoire, d'y vérifier cette marche constante de la synthèse à l'analyse. Partout une langue ancienne a fait place à une langue vulgaire, qui ne constitue pas, à vrai dire, un idiome nouveau, mais plutôt une transformation de celle qui l'a précédée: celle-ci, plus savante, chargée de flexions pour exprimer les rapports infiniment délicats de la pensée, plus riche même dans son ordre d'idées, bien que cet ordre fût comparativement

adducing forms which the language has relinquished long ago, but mainly such as it is relinquishing at this present. Such a process, as it affects these last, and as we ourselves are at this instant helping to set it forward, will have more than a merely archaic interest for us. Thus the words which retain the Romance female termination in 'ess,'[1] as 'heir,' which makes 'heiress,' and 'prophet' 'prophetess' (or 'prophetisse,' as it is in Coverdale), 'emperor,' which makes 'empress,' or 'emperice,' as it was once, are every day becoming fewer. This termination has already fallen away in so many instances, and is evidently becoming of unfrequent use in so many more, that, if we may augur of the future from the analogy of the past, it will one day wholly vanish from our tongue. Thus all these occur in Wiclif's Bible : 'techeress' (2 Chron. xxxv. 25) ; 'friendess' (Prov. vii. 4) ; 'servantess' (Gen. xvi. 2) ; 'leperess' (=saltatrix, Ecclus. ix. 4) ; 'daunceress' (Ecclus. ix. 4) ; 'neighbouress' (Exod. iii. 22) ; 'sinneress' (Luke vii. 37) ; 'purpuress' (Acts xvi. 14) ; 'cousiness' (Luke i. 36) ; 'slayeress' (Tob. iii. 9) ; 'devouress' (Ezek. xxxvi. 13) ; 'spousess' (Prov. v. 19) ; 'thralless' (Jer. xxxiv. 16) ; 'dwelleress' (Jer. xxi. 13) ; 'waileress' (Jer. xix. 17) ;

moins étendu, image en un mot de la spontanéité primitive, où l'esprit accumulait les éléments dans une confuse unité, et perdait dans le tout la vue analytique des parties ; le dialecte moderne, au contraire, correspondant à un progrès d'analyse, plus clair, plus explicite, séparant ce que les anciens assemblaient, brisant les mécanismes de l'ancienne langue pour donner à chaque idée et à chaque relation son expression isolée.

[1] Diez, *Rom. Gram.* vol. iii. pp. 277, 326, 344 ; compare Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, p. 62.

'cheseress' (=electrix, Wisd. viii. 4); 'singeress' (2 Chron. xxxv. 25); 'breakeress,' 'waiteress,' this last, indeed, having recently come up again. Add to these 'souteress,' 'dyssheress' (both in *Piers Plowman*), 'chideress,' 'constabless,' 'moveress,' 'jangleress,' 'vengeress,' 'soudaness' (= sultana), 'guideress,' 'charmeress' (all in Chaucer); 'forgeress,' 'graveress,' 'goldsmithess,' 'bigelouress' (all in the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Manhood*); 'cellaress,' 'chamberess,' 'treasuress' (all in the *Mirrour of our Lady*). Others reached to far later periods of the language; thus 'vanqueress' (Fabyan), 'Ethiopess' (Raleigh), 'exactress' (Isai. xiv. 4, margin), 'inhabitress' (Jer. x. 17); 'poisoneress' (Greneway); 'knightess' (Udal); 'oratress' (Warner), 'pedleress,' 'championess,' 'vassaless,' 'avengeress,' 'warriouress,' 'victoress,' 'conqueress,' 'creatress,' 'tyranness,' 'Titaness,' 'Britoness' (all in Spenser); 'offendress,' 'fornicatress,' 'cloistress,' 'jointress' (all in Shakespeare); 'vowess' (Holinshed); 'ministress,' 'paintress,' 'flatteress,' 'directress' (all in Holland); 'captainess' (Sidney); 'treasuress' (*The Golden Boke*); 'saintess' (Sir T. Urquhart); 'leadress' (F. Thynne); 'heroess,' 'dragoness,' 'butleress,' 'contendress,' 'waggoness,' 'rectress' (all in Chapman); 'Turkess' (Marlowe); 'shootress' (Fairfax); 'archeress' (Fanshawe); 'architectress' (Sandys); 'clientess,' 'pandress' (both in Middleton); 'papess,' 'Jesuitess' (both in Bishop Hall); 'incitress' (Gayton); 'mediatress' (H. More); 'fautress,' 'herdess' (both in Browne); 'neatress' (=neat-herdess, Warner); 'soldieress,' 'guardianess,' 'votaress' (all in Beaumont and Fletcher); 'comfortress,' 'fosteress' (both in Ben Jonson); 'factress'

(Ford); 'soveraintess' (Sylvester); 'preserveress' (Daniel); 'hermitress' (Drummond); 'emulatress' (Skelton); 'solicitress,' 'impostress,' 'buildress,' 'intrudress,' 'moderatress,' 'patriarchess,' 'presidentess' (all in Fuller); who otherwhere has 'impostrix,' and 'creditrix;' Florio 'moderatrix.' Add 'favouress' (Hakewell); 'commandress' (Burton); 'monarchess' 'discipless' (Speed); 'auditress,' 'cateress,' 'chantress,' 'prelatess' (all in Milton); 'saviouress' (Jeremy Taylor); 'citess,' 'divineress' (both in Dryden); 'competitress' (*Corah's Doom*, 1672); 'deaness' (Sterne); 'detractress' (Addison); 'hucksteress' (Howell); 'tutoress,' 'legislatress' (both in Shaftesbury); 'farmeress' (Lord Peterborough, *Letter to Pope*); 'suitress' (Rowe); 'nomenclatress' (*Guardian*); 'rivaless' (Richardson); 'pilgrimess,' 'laddess,' this last surviving in the contracted form of 'lass;' with others which a catalogue that made any claims to completeness would contain.[1] Tennyson's 'ostleress' is a proof that the power of forming words on this scheme has not wholly gone from us, unless indeed this should be only a revival; for 'ostleress' is in Fuller.

What happened to one has happened also to another feminine suffix, the Saxon 'ster,' which takes the place of 'er,' where a female doer is intended.[2]

[1] In Cotgrave's *Dictionary* I note 'commendress,' 'fluteress,' 'loveress,' 'possessoress,' 'praiseress,' 'regentess,' but have never met them in use; 'chieftainess' only in Sir Walter Scott (*Rob Roy*), who seems to suppose that he has invented it, which can scarcely be the case.

[2] On this termination see J. Grimm, *Deutsche Gram.*, vol. ii. p. 134; vol. iii. p. 339; Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, 3rd ed. p. 419.

'Spinner' and 'spinster' are the only pair of such words which still survive. There were formerly many such; thus 'baker' had 'bakester,' being the female who baked; 'brewer' had 'brewster' (*Piers Plowman*); 'sewer' 'sewster' (Ben Jonson); 'reader' 'readster;' 'seamer' 'seamster;' 'weaver' 'webster' (Golding); 'fruiterer' 'fruitester;' 'tumbler' 'tumblester' (both in Chaucer); 'hanger' or hangman 'hangster;' 'host' 'hotestre' (*Ayenbite*); 'knitter' 'knitster' (the word still lives in Devon), 'shaper,' a cutter out of clothes or dressmaker, had 'shapster' (both of these still found in the *Whitby Glossary*). Add to these 'whitster' (the female bleacher, Shakespeare), 'bandster,' the woman binding up the sheaves (Cleveland dialect), 'wafrester,' the woman making wafers for the priest (*Piers Plowman*); 'kempster' (pectrix), 'dryster' (siccatrix), 'brawdster' (=embroideress), and 'salster' (salinaria).[1] 'Harpster' I have never met in use, but have seen it in glossaries. It is a singular evidence of the richness of a language in forms at the earlier stages of its existence, that not a few of the words which had, as we have just seen, a feminine termination in 'ess,' had also a second in 'ster.' Thus 'daunser,' beside 'daunseress,' had also 'daunster' (Ecclus. ix. 4); 'wailer,' beside 'waileress,' had 'wailster' (Jer. ix. 17); 'dweller' had 'dwelster' (Jer. xxi. 13); and 'singer' 'singster' (2 Kin. xix. 35); 'slayer' had 'slayster' (Tob. iii. 9), as well as 'slayeress;' 'chooser' 'chesister' (Wisd. viii. 4), as well as 'cheseress;' so too 'chider' had 'chidester'

[1] I owe these last four to a *Nominale* in the *National Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 216, but have not met them in use.

(Chaucer), as well as 'chideress;' with others that might be named.

It is impossible then to subscribe to Marsh's statement, high as his authority on a matter of English scholarship must be, when he affirms, 'I find no positive evidence to show that the termination "ster" was ever regarded as a feminine termination in English.'[1] It has indeed been urged that the existence of such words as 'seamstr*ess*,' 'songstr*ess*,' is decisive proof that the ending 'ster' or 'estre,' of itself was not counted sufficient to designate persons as female; since if 'seam*ster*' and 'song*ster*' had been felt to be already feminine, no one would have thought of doubling on these, and adding a second female termination, 'seam*stress*,' 'song*stress*.' But all which this proves is, that when the final 'ess' was superadded to these already feminine forms, and all examples of it belong to a comparatively late period of the language, the true significance of this ending had been lost sight of and forgotten.[2] The same may be

[1] If indeed he had said that there are certain perplexing exceptions to this rule, words with this termination, although very few, applied at an early date to men and not to women, as 'dempster' (=judge), 'thakster' (=thatcher), 'shepster' (=sheep shearer), this, but not more than this, would be true; see Morris, *English Accidence*, p. 89; Mätzner, *Engl. Gram.*, vol. i. p. 434; Oliphant, *Old and Middle English*, p. 203.

[2] Richardson's earliest example of 'seamstress' is from Gay, of 'songstress,' from Thomson. I find however 'sempstress' in Olearius' *Voyages and Travels*, 1669, p. 43. As late as Ben Jonson, 'seamster' and 'songster' expressed severally the *female* seamer and singer; in his *Masque of Christmas*, one of the children of Christmas is 'Wassel, like a neat *sempster* and *songster; her* page bearing a brown bowl.' Compare a passage from

affirmed of such other of these feminine forms as are now, or have been recently, applied to men, such as 'gamester,' 'youngster,' 'oldster,' 'drugster' (South), 'huckster,' 'hackster' (=swordsman, Milton, prose), 'wooster,' 'seedster' (=sower), 'teamster,' 'throwster,' 'rhymester,' 'punster' (*Spectator*), 'tapster,' 'maltster,' 'whipster,' 'lewdster' (Shakespeare), 'trickster,' 'smockster.' Either like 'teamster' and 'punster,' the words did not come into being till the force of this termination was altogether forgotten ;[1] or like 'tapster,' which was still female in Skelton's time ('a *tapster* like a lady bright'), as it is now in Dutch and Frisian, being distinguished from 'tapper,' the *man* who has charge of the tap ; or as 'bakester,' at this day used in Scotland for 'baker,' as 'dyester' for 'dyer,' the word did originally belong of right and exclusively to women ;[2] but with the gradual transfer of the occupation to men, and an increasing forgetfulness of what this termination implied, there went also a transfer of the name,[3] just as in other words, and out of the same

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Holland's Leaguer, 1632 : 'A *tyre-woman* of phantastical ornaments, a *sempster* for ruffes, cuffes, smocks and waistcoats.'

[1] This was about the time of Henry VIII. In proof of the confusion which reigned on the subject in Shakespeare's time, see his use of 'spinster' as ='spinner,' the *man* spinning, *Henry VIII.*, act i. sc. 2 ; and doubtless too in *Othello*, act i. sc. 1. And somewhat later, in Howell's *Vocabulary*, 1659, 'spinner' and 'spinster' are *both* referred to the male sex, and the barbarous 'spinstress' invented for the female.

[2] The Latin equivalent for 'maltster' in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* is 'brasia*trix*.'

[3] In the *Nominale* referred to, p. 237, the words, 'hæc auxiatrix, a *hukster*,' occur. That the huckster is properly the *female* pedlar is sufficiently plain. 'To hawk' was formerly 'to huck' —it is so used by Bishop Andrewes, and 'hucker' or hawker

causes, the converse finds place; and 'baker' or 'brewer,' not 'bakester' or 'brewster,' would be now

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(the German 'höker' or 'höcker') is the *man* who 'hucks,' 'hawks,' or peddles, 'huckster' the *woman* who does the same. Howell then and others employing 'hucksteress' fall into the same barbarous excess of expression, whereof we are all guilty in 'seamstress' and 'songstress.' Cf. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s. v. I take the opportunity of noting another curious excess of expression that has succeeded in establishing itself in the language. In books of two or three hundred years ago, we find 'adulter' (Tyndale), 'poulter' (Shakespeare), 'cater' (Drayton), 'royster' (Gascoigne), 'upholster' (Strype), 'embroider' (Holland), 'stutter' (the same); and these all sufficiently justify themselves; 'adulter,' a transfer of a Latin word into English, 'poulter' one dealing in poults, 'cater' in cates, 'stutter' one that stuts, and so on; but the sense of this final 'er,' the remnant of the Anglo-Saxon 'wer,' a man, and of what it indicates, namely the habitual doer of a thing, is so strong, that men could not be content without adding it a second time to all these words; and they are severally now 'adulterer,' 'poulterer,' 'caterer,' 'roysterer,' 'upholsterer,' 'embroiderer,' 'stutterer.' 'Fripperer,' which in our early literature is as common as 'fripper,' might be added. 'Launder' in like manner became 'launderer,' though both have given way to 'laundress;' and 'augur,' in Shakespeare at least, to 'augurer,' though this is not a perfect parallel. In 'scrivener,' which with Chaucer was 'scriven' (écrivain), the superadded 'er' has made good its place. That this superaddition has its root in the linguistic instinct of our people is evident from the fact that the same has been attempted in other words, though without the same success; thus 'fisherer' (it occurs in Cotgrave) is in provincial usage for 'fisher' (see Forby and other local glossaries); and the same has extended to words of a different formation, as to 'burglarer' for 'burglar' (Butler's *Hudibras*); to 'musicianer,' 'physicianer,' 'masoner' (all in Forby); to 'politicianer,' a vulgar Americanism; to 'poeter,' a vulgar Anglicism, and to others.

applied to the woman baking or brewing. So entirely has this power of the language died out, that it survives more apparently than really even in 'spinner' and 'spinster;' seeing that 'spinster' has now quite another meaning than that of a woman spinning; whom, as well as the man, we should call, not a 'spinster,' but a 'spinner.'[1] It would be hard to believe, but for the constant experience we have of the fact, how soon and how easily the true law and significance of some form, which has never ceased to be in everybody's mouth, may yet be lost sight of by all. No more curious chapter in the history of language could be written than one which should trace the transgressions of its most primary laws, the violations of analogy and the like, which follow hereupon; the plurals, as 'welkin' (=wölken), which are dealt with as singulars; the singulars, like 'riches' (richesse),[2] 'pease' (pisum, pois),[3] 'alms' ('almesse' in Coverdale), 'summons'

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[1] *Notes and Queries*, No. 157.

[2] See Chaucer, *Romaunt of the Rose*, 1032, where Richesse, 'an high lady of great noblesse,' is one of the persons of the allegory. In Tyndale's Version of the Bible we read (Jam. v. 2), 'Your riches *is* corrupte;' in the Geneva 'is' has given place to 'are,' which stands in our Version. This has so entirely escaped Ben Jonson, English scholar as he was, that in his *Grammar* he cites 'riches' as an example of an English word wanting a singular; and at a later day Wemyss (*Biblical Gleanings*, p. 212) complains of a false concord at Rev. xviii. 17: 'For in one hour so great riches *is* come to nought.' Compare *Wisdom of Solomon*, v. 8.

[3] 'Set shallow brooks to surging seas,
An orient pearl to a white *pease*.'—*Puttenham.*

On 'pea' and 'pease' see the *Transactions of the Philological*

(summoneas), 'eaves' (efese), 'Cyclops,' 'Chinese' (Milton has rightly 'Chineses' for the plural), which on the score of the final 's' are assumed to be plurals ;[1] thus Macaulay writes 'Cyclop,' and Tennyson 'cottage eave,' this last appearing also in Kingsley's *Perseus and Andromeda.*

One example of the kind is familiar to us all ; to which yet it may be worth adverting as a notable example of this forgetfulness which may overtake a whole people, of the true meaning of a grammatical form which they have never ceased to employ. I refer to the mistaken assumption that the 's' of the genitive, as 'the king's countenance,' was merely a more rapid way of pronouncing 'the king *his* countenance,' and that the final 's' in 'king's' was in fact an elided 'his.' This explanation for a long time prevailed almost universally ; I believe there are many who accept it still. It was in vain that here and there one more accurately acquainted with the past history of our tongue protested against this

Society, 1873, 1874, p. 256 ; and on 'baize,' an unrecognized plural (= bayis), and on 'bodice,' see Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s. vv.

[1] It has been well said that of the many influences which are evermore at work for the injury of a language, there is none which works so effectually for the barbarizing of it as the dying out of what may be called the 'speech-feeling' among the mass of those who use it. By this 'speech-feeling' is meant a knowledge, or if not a knowledge yet an instinctive sense, of the significance of its forms. Philologically trained the great majority of the speakers of a language can never be ; but there is a time when they have an innate instinctive consciousness of the meaning of its forms, which at a later period inevitably passes from them. It can hardly be denied that with us this period has arrived.

'monstrous syntax,' as Ben Jonson justly calls it; though curiously enough, despite this protest, one of his plays has for its name, *Sejanus his Fall*, and another, *Catiline his Conspiracy*. It was in vain that Wallis, another English scholar of the seventeenth century, pointed out that the slightest examination of the facts revealed the untenable character of this explanation, seeing that we do not merely say 'the *king's* countenance,' but 'the *queen's* countenance;' where 'the queen *his* countenance' cannot be intended;[1] we do not say merely 'the *child's* bread,' but 'the *children's* bread,' where it is no less impossible to resolve the phrase into 'the children *his* bread.'[2] Notwithstanding these protests, the error held its ground. This much indeed of a plea it could make for itself, that such an actual employment of 'his' *had* found

[1] Even this does not startle Addison, or cause him any misgiving; on the contrary he boldly asserts (*Spectator*, No. 135), 'The same single letter "s" on many occasions does the office of a whole word, and represents the "his" *or* "*her*" of our forefathers.'

[2] Wallis excellently well disposes of this scheme, although less successful in showing what this 's' does mean than in showing what it cannot mean (*Gramm. Ling. Anglic.*, c. v.): Qui autem arbitrantur illud s, loco *his* adjunctum esse (priori scilicet parte per aphæresim abscissâ), ideoque apostrophi notam semper vel pingendam esse, vel saltem subintelligendam, omnino errant. Quamvis enim non negem quin apostrophi nota commode nonnunquam affigi possit, ut ipsius litteræ s usus distinctius, ubi opus est, percipiatur; ita tamen semper fieri debere, aut etiam ideo fieri quia vocem *his* innuat, omnino nego. Adjungitur enim et fœminarum nominibus propriis, et substantivis pluralibus, ubi vox *his* sine solœcismo locum habere non potest: atque etiam in possessivis *ours*, *yours*, *theirs*, *hers*, ubi vocem *his* innui nemo somniaret.

its way into the language, as early as the fourteenth century, and had been in occasional, though rare, use from that time downward.[1] Yet this, which has only been elicited by the researches of recent scholars, does not in the least justify those who assumed that in the ordinary 's' of the genitive were to be found the remains of 'his'—an error from which the books of scholars in the seventeenth, and in the early decades of the eighteenth, century are not a whit clearer than the books of any others. Spenser, Donne, Fuller, Jeremy Taylor, all fall into it; Dryden more than once helps out his verse with an additional syllable in this way gained. It has forced itself into our Prayer Book, where the 'Prayer for all conditions of men,' added at the last revision of the Book in 1662, ends with these words, 'and this we beg for Jesus Christ *his* sake.'[2] I need hardly tell you that this 's' is in fact the one remnant of flexion surviving in the singular number of our English noun substantives; it is in all the Indo-European languages the original sign of the genitive, or at any rate the earliest of which we can take cognizance; and just as in Latin 'lapis' makes 'lapidis'

[1] See the proofs in Marsh, *Manual of the English Language*, English edit., pp. 280, 293.

[2] Surely our University Presses might remove this deformity from the Prayer Book. Such a liberty they have already assumed with the Bible. In all earlier editions of the Authorized Version it stood at 1 Kin. xv. 14: 'Nevertheless *Asa his* heart was perfect with the Lord;' it is '*Asa's* heart' now; as it was in Tyndale. In the same way '*Mordecai his* matters' (Esth. iii. 4) has been silently changed into '*Mordecai's* matters;' while 'by Naomi *her* instruction Ruth lieth at Boaz *his* feet,' in the heading of Ruth iii., has been as little allowed to stand.

in the genitive, so 'king,' 'queen,' 'child,' make severally 'kings,' 'queens,' 'childs,' the apostrophe, an apparent note of elision, being a mere modern expedient, 'a late refinement,' as Ash calls it,[1] to distinguish the genitive singular from the plural cases.[2]

I will call to your notice another example of this willingness to dispense with inflection, of this endeavour to reduce the forms of a language to the fewest possible, consistent with the accurate communication of thought. Of our adjectives in 'en,' formed on substantives, and expressing the material or substance of a thing, the Greek ινος, a vast number have gone, many more are going, out of use; we having learned to content ourselves with the bare juxtaposition of the substantive itself, as sufficiently expressing our meaning. Thus instead of '*golden* pin' we say '*gold* pin;' instead of '*earthen* works' we say '*earth*-works.' 'Golden' and 'earthen,' it is true, still belong to our living speech, though mainly as part of our poetic diction, or of the solemn and stereotyped language of Scripture; but a whole company of such words have nearly or quite disappeared; some recently, some long ago. 'Clouden,' 'fellen,' or made of skins, 'firen,' 'flowren,' 'rocken,' 'steelen,' 'thornen,' belong only to a very early period of the language; 'thornen,' it is true, being still alive in some of our country dialects. 'Rosen' also went early; Chaucer

[1] In a good note on the matter, p. 6, in the *Comprehensive Grammar* prefixed to his *Dictionary*, London, 1775.

[2] See Grimm, *Deutsche Gram.*, vol. ii. pp. 609, 944; and on the remarkable employment of it not merely as the sign of the genitive singular, but also of the genitive plural, Loth, *Angelsächsisch-Englische Grammatik*, p. 203.

is my latest authority for it ('*rosen* chapelet'); as also for 'iven,' or made of ivy; 'stonen' is in Wiclif (John ii. 6);[1] 'hairen' in him and in Chaucer; 'silvern' stood originally in Wiclif's Bible ('*silverne* housis to Diane,' Acts xix. 24); but already in the second recension this was exchanged for 'silver;' 'hornen,' still in our dialects, he also employs, with 'clayen' (Job iv. 19), and 'iverene' or of ivory (Cant. vi. 4). 'Bonen' occurs in the *Townley Mysteries*; 'birchen' in Tyndale; 'tinnen' in Sylvester; while in Bacon it is never 'the *Milky Way*,' but always 'the *Milken*.' In the coarse polemics of the Reformation the phrase, '*breaden* god,' provoked by the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, is of frequent recurrence, and is found as late as in Oldham. '*Mothen* parchments' is in Fulke; '*twiggen* bottle' and '*threaden* sail' in Shakespeare; '*yewen*' or '*ewghen* bow,' in Spenser; '*cedarn* alley' and '*azurn* sheen' in Milton; '*boxen* leaves' in Dryden; 'a *corden* ladder' in Arthur Brooke; 'a *treen* cup' in Jeremy Taylor; '*eldern* popguns' in Sir Thomas Overbury; 'a *glassen* breast' in Whitlock; 'a *reeden* hat' in Coryat; 'a *wispen* garland' in Gabriel Harvey; 'yarnen' occurs in Tuberville; 'fursen' in Holland; while 'bricken,' 'papern,' 'elmen,' appear from our provincial glossaries to be still in local use.[2]

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[1] The existence of 'stony' (=lapidosus, steinig) does not make 'stonen' (=lapideus, steinern) superfluous any more than 'earthy' makes 'earthen' and 'earthly.' That part of the field in which the good seed withered so quickly (Matt. xiii. 5) was 'stony;' the vessels which played their part at the Marriage in Cana of Galilee (John ii. 6) were 'stonen.'

[2] For a long list of words of this formation which never

It is true that some of these adjectives still hold their ground; but the roots which sustain even these are being gradually cut away from beneath them. Thus 'brazen' might at first sight seem as strongly established in the language as ever; but such is very far from the case. Even now it only lives in a tropical and secondary use, as 'a *brazen* face;' or, if in a literal, in poetic diction or in the consecrated language of Scripture, as 'the *brazen* serpent;' otherwise we say 'a *brass* farthing,' 'a *brass* candlestick.' It is the same with 'oaten,' 'oaken,' 'birchen,' 'beechen,' 'strawen,' and many more, whereof some are obsolescent, some obsolete, the language manifestly tending now, as it has tended for centuries past, to the getting quit of them all, and to the satisfying itself with an adjectival apposition of the substantive instead.

There are other examples of the manner in which a language, as it travels onward, simplifies itself, approaches more and more to a grammatical and logical uniformity, seeks to do the same thing always in the same manner; where there are for it two or more ways of conducting a single operation, declines to use, and so in the end loses, all save one. Thus, no doubt, it becomes easier to be mastered, more handy and manageable; for its very riches prove an embarrassment and a perplexity to many; but at the same time it limits and restrains its own freedom of action, and is in danger of forfeiting elements of strength, variety, and beauty, which it once possessed. Take for instance the tendency of our verbs to let go their

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passed from Early into Middle English, see Loth, *Angelsächsisch-Englische Grammatik*, p. 332.

strong preterites, and to substitute weak ones in their room; or, where they have two or three preterites, to retain only one of these, and that almost invariably the weak. But here let me explain what these terms, strong preterites and weak—terms objected to by some, but with no sufficient reason—severally mean. The Indo-European languages at the earliest period that we know formed their preterites by reduplication, by a repetition that is of the root; of which not inconsiderable traces still remain in the Latin, as in 'cano' 'cecini,' 'tundo' 'tutudi,' and, though not so clearly, in 'vĭdeo' 'vīdi' (='vĭvĭdi'); while the same forms part of the regular scheme of the Greek conjugation. But this reduplication only survived in one of the Teutonic dialects. From our Old English it had died out, leaving the very faintest traces behind it, long before the times which come within the scope of our vision. But with the perishing of this, the internal vowel-change, or variation of the radical vowel (we want some good equivalent for the German 'ablaut'), which appears to have been properly no more than a euphonic process, was adopted as a means of marking flexion, and as the sign for the past; thus 'grow' 'grew,' 'cleave' 'clove,' 'dive' 'dove.' At a later day men sought some plainer and more obvious sign in the room of one which was felt to have so much of indeterminate and capricious about it; and as often as new verbs were introduced into the language, they marked the preterite in these by adding to the verb in its crude state 'd,' or for euphony's sake 't,' this suffix being a mutilated form of the auxiliary verb 'do,' and united to the root by aid of the vowel 'e;' thus 'I thank,' in the perfect 'I thank-e-d;' leaving in

most instances the radical vowel unchanged.[1] It will follow, if this statement be correct, that the strong verbs are invariably the older, the weak the newer, in the language.[2]

But for all this the victory has not remained with the strong. The weak have been too much for them, so that multitudes among the strong have already disappeared, many more are in process of disappearing. For example, 'shape' has now a weak preterite, 'shaped,' it had once a strong one, 'shope' (Coverdale); 'bake' has now a weak preterite, 'baked,' it had once a strong one 'boke;' the preterite of 'glide' is now 'glided,' it was once 'glode' or 'glid;' 'help' makes now 'helped,' it made once 'halp' and 'holp.' 'Creep' made 'crope,' still current in the North of England, and 'crep' (*Story of Genesis*); 'weep' 'wope' and 'wep;' 'yell' 'yoll;' 'starve' 'storve;' 'washe' 'wishe' (all in Chaucer); 'seethe' 'soth' or 'sod' (Gen. xxv. 29); 'sheer' once made 'shore;' as 'leap' made 'lep' and 'lope' (Spenser); 'snow' 'snew;' 'thaw' 'thew;' 'gnaw' 'gnew;' 'sow' 'sew;' 'delve' 'dalf' and 'dolve;' 'sweat' 'swat;' 'yield' 'yold' and 'yald;' 'reach' 'raught;'

[1] Earle, *Philology of the English Tongue*, p. 253.

[2] Grimm (*Deutsche Gram.*, vol. i. p. 1040): Dass die starke Form die ältere, kräftigere, innere; die schwache die spätere, gehemmtere und mehr äusserliche sey, leuchtet ein. Elsewhere, speaking generally of inflections by internal vowel change, he characterizes them as a 'chief beauty' (hauptschönheit) of the Teutonic languages. Marsh (*Manual of the English Language*, p. 233, English ed.) protests, though, as it seems to me, on no sufficient grounds, against these terms 'strong' and 'weak,' as themselves fanciful and inappropriate.

'melt' 'molt;' 'wax' 'wex' and 'wox;' 'squeeze' 'squoze;' 'laugh' 'leugh;' 'knead' 'kned;' 'beat' 'bet' (Coverdale); with others more than can be enumerated here.[1] A very large number of these strong forms, which have disappeared from our literary English, still hold their ground in our provincial dialects.

Observe further that where verbs have not actually renounced their strong preterites, contenting themselves with weak in their room, yet, once possessing two, perhaps three of these strong, they now retain only one. The others they have let go. Thus 'chide' had once 'chid' and 'chode,' but though 'chode' is in our Bible (Gen. xxxi. 36), it has not maintained itself in our speech; 'sling' had 'slung' and 'slang' (1 Sam. xvii. 49); only 'slung' remains; 'fling' had once 'flung' and 'flang;' 'strive' had 'strove' and

[1] The entire ignorance as to the past historic evolution of the language, with which some have undertaken to write about it, is curious. Thus the author of *Observations upon the English Language*, without date, but published about 1730, treats all these strong preterites as of recent introduction, counting 'knew' to have lately expelled 'knowed,' 'rose' to have acted the same part towards 'rised,' and of course esteeming them so many barbarous violations of the laws of the language; and concluding with the warning that 'great care must be taken to prevent their increase.' ! !—p. 24. Cobbett does not fall into this absurdity, yet proposes in his *English Grammar*, that they should all be abolished as inconvenient. There are two letters in *The Spectator*, Nos. 78 and 80, on the relations between 'who,' 'which,' and 'that,' singularly illustrative of the same absolute ignorance of the whole past evolution of the language. The writers throughout assume 'that' to have recently displaced 'which,' as a relative pronoun!

'strave' (Holland); 'smite' had 'smote' and 'smate;' 'tread' had 'trod' and 'trad;' 'choose' had 'chose' and 'chase' (Sir T. Elyot); 'give' had 'gove' and 'gave;' 'spin' 'spun' and 'span;' 'steal' 'stole' and 'stale;' 'lead' had 'lode' 'led' and 'lad;' 'write' 'writ' 'wrote' and 'wrate.' In these instances, and in many more, only one preterite continues in use.

Observe too that wherever a struggle is now going forward between weak and strong forms, which shall continue, the weak are carrying the day: 'climbed' is gaining the upper hand of 'clomb,' 'swelled' of 'swoll,' 'hanged' of 'hung.' There are, it is true, exceptions to this; and these not quite so few as at first one might suppose. Thus 'they have *digged* a pit' stands in our Bible; we should now say 'dug.' 'Shaked,' 'shined,' 'wringed,' and 'shrinked' in like manner are there; while we now only admit 'shook,' 'shone,' 'wrung,' and 'shrunk' or 'shrank.' 'To catch' had 'catched' as well as 'caught;' and 'to blow' had 'blowed' (both in Bacon); 'to strive' had 'strived' (Spenser and Shakespeare); 'to stick' makes 'sticked' in Coverdale's Bible, but has only 'stuck' for a preterite now; in the same 'to swim' had 'swimmed;' it has now only 'swum' or 'swam,' properly only this last. 'Growed' and not 'grew' is in *Piers Plowman* the perfect of 'to grow;' 'becomed' and 'misbecomed' are in Shakespeare; 'understanded' and not 'understood' in our Articles. But these are the exceptions; the exact reverse of this is the prevailing tendency of the language, and we may anticipate a time, though still far off, when all English verbs will form their preterites weakly; not without serious injury to the fulness, variety, and force, which

in this respect the language even now displays, and once far more signally displayed.[1]

The ravages which analogy is making in a language are incessant,—that which is sometimes or which is often, claiming to be always. Not seldom the analogy is false and deceptive; as in the matter of spelling Archdeacon Hare would have shewn so well in a treatise, of which the printing was interrupted by his illness and death, and has never since been renewed; but, even where this fault cannot be urged, analogy will often substitute a poor uniformity for a rich variety. We have just seen what it has done with our perfects active; let us see what it has not less effectually done with our participles passive. All our strong verbs formed originally their passive participles in 'en' or 'n.' But with the multiplication of weak verbs, whose participles ended in 'ed,' there has followed a constant effort, and one too often successful, to reduce the older to the same scheme. Many, it is true, have resisted, and will now probably resist to the end. But others not a few, as 'bounden,' 'graven,' 'holden,' and 'stricken,' have already an archaic air about them; or, like 'foughten,' 'holpen,' 'paven,' would scarcely be used except in poetry. For very many more analogy has effectually done its work in driving them out of use. Thus 'baken,' 'folden,' 'loaden,' 'shapen,' 'unwashen,' 'wreathen,' 'abiden' (all in our English Bible), 'founden,' 'hoven,' 'reapen' (all in Wiclif's Bible), 'dolven' (*Piers*

[1] J. Grimm (*Deutsche Gram.*, vol. i. p. 839): Die starke Flexion stufenweise versinkt und ausstirbt, die schwache aber um sich greift. Cf. i. 994, 1040; ii. 5; iv. 509.

Plowman), 'corven,' 'kneden' (Chaucer), 'betrayne' (*Sir Scudamore*), 'achieven,' 'blotten,' 'overcomen,' 'gilden' (all in Spenser), 'fretten,' 'sain' (both in Shakespeare), 'casten,' 'flayn' (both in Coverdale), 'cliven' (Golding), 'usen' (Rogers), 'unwroken' (=unrevenged, Surrey), 'gnawn' (Hacket), 'sitten' (Holland), 'snown' (North), 'lopen' (Surrey), 'starven,' 'slidden,' 'contriven' (Beaumont), have been dropt altogether; or where they survive at all, this is only, as is so often the manner with archaisms, in our local dialects; as, for example, in Cumbrian we meet 'cutten,' 'knodden,' 'putten,' 'setten,' 'strucken,' and others.

It is found in practice that men care very little for grammatical right, when by the ignoring of this they can obtain a handier implement for use. The consideration of convenience will for most men override every other. Our English verbs formed on the passive participle past of the Latin verb, as for instance 'to devote,' 'to corrupt,' 'to circumcise,' have in a large number of instances been preceded by verbs which formed themselves more correctly from the present tense active; thus 'to devove' (Holland) preceded 'to devote;' 'to corrump' (Wiclif, Mal. iii. 11) or 'to corruppe' (Coverdale) 'to corrupt;' 'to circumcide' (Coverdale) 'to circumcise;' though these with others like them, as 'to compromit' (Capgrave), 'to suspeck,' 'to correck,' 'to instruck' (all in Coverdale), 'to inculk' (Tyndale), have been unable to make good their footing in the language, having one and all given place to those which we now employ. We need not look far for the motive which led to the taking of the participle past of the Latin verb as that on which to form

the English. In many cases it was difficult, in some apparently impossible, to form this on the Latin present. 'To devove,' 'to corrump,' 'to circumcide' might pass; but 'to suspeck,' 'to correck,' 'to instruck,' did not commend themselves much, while yet nothing better could be done with 'suspicio,' 'corrigo,' 'instruo;' not to say that other verbs out of number, as 'accipio,' 'exhaurio,' 'addico,' 'macero,' 'polluo,' lent themselves hardly or not at all to the forming in the same way of an English verb upon them. But all was easy if the participle past were recognized as the starting-point; and thus we have the verbs 'to accept,' 'to exhaust,' 'to addict,' 'to macerate,' 'to pollute, with a multitude of others. It is true that these words could not all at once forget that they were already participles past; and thus side by side with that other usage they continued for a long while to be employed as such; and instead of 'instructed,' 'dejected,' 'accepted,' 'exhausted,' and the rest, as now in use, we find 'instruct' ('elephants *instruct* for war,' Milton), 'deject' (Shakespeare), 'accept' (Coverdale), 'exhaust' (Bacon), 'distract' ('the fellow is *distract*, Shakespeare), 'attaint' (Holland), 'addict' (Frith), 'convict' (Habington), 'infect' ('many are *infect*, Shakespeare), 'pollute,' 'disjoint,' 'elevate' ('in thoughts more *elevate*,' Milton), 'dilute' (John Smith), 'extort,' 'distort,' 'extract' (all in Spenser), 'deduct,' 'mutilate' (both in Frith), 'contráct' (Shakespeare), 'abrogate' (Tyndale), 'premeditate' (Holland), 'consolidate' (Sir T. Elyot), with many more. Little by little, however, it passed out of the linguistic consciousness of men that these were past participles already; and, this once forgotten, no scruple was then

made of adding to them a second participial sign, and we thus have them in their present shape and use ; 'instruct*ed*,' 'exhaust*ed*,' and the like.

Take another illustration from a tendency which for centuries has been making itself felt more and more, of that ever-recurring law of language, namely, that wherever two or more methods of attaining the same result exist, there is always a disposition to drop and dismiss all of these save one ; so that the alternative, or choice of ways, which once existed shall exist within limits which are ever growing narrower, and, in the end, shall not exist any more. If only a language can arrive at a greater simplicity, it seems to grudge no self-impoverishment by which this result may be attained. We have two ways of forming our comparatives and superlatives, one inherent in the word itself, and derived from our old Teutonic stock, thus 'bright,' 'bright*er*,' 'bright*est* ;' the other supplementary to this, by aid of the auxiliaries 'more' and 'most ;' this latter making its appearance toward the end of the thirteenth century, and being probably due to Norman-French influence. The first, organic we might call it, the indwelling power of the word to mark its own degrees, must needs be esteemed the more excellent way ; which yet, already disallowed in almost all adjectives of more than two syllables in length, is daily becoming of a yet more restricted employment. Compare in this matter our present position with our past. Wiclif forms without scruple such comparatives as 'grievouser,' 'gloriouser,' 'patienter,' 'profitabler,' such superlatives as 'greviousest,' 'famousest,' 'preciousest.' Two centuries later we meet in Tyndale, 'excellenter,' 'miserablest ;' in Roger

Ascham, 'inventivest;' in Shakespeare, 'ancientest,' 'violentest;' in Gabriel Harvey 'vendiblest,' 'substantialest,' 'insolentest;' in Fuller, 'eloquenter;' in Butler, 'ingeniouser,' 'dangerouser;' in Rogers, 'insufficienter,' 'goldenest;' in Beaumont and Fletcher, 'valiantest;' in Bacon, 'excellentest,' 'honorablest;' in Sylvester, 'infamousest;' in North, 'warlikest,' 'unfortunatest.' Milton uses 'sensualest,' 'resolutest,' 'exquisitest,' 'virtuosest,' and in prose 'vitiosest,' 'elegantest,' 'artificialest,' 'servilest,' 'sheepishest,' 'moralest;' Fuller has 'fertilest;' Baxter 'tediousest;' Butler 'preciousest,' 'intolerablest,' 'preposterousest;' Burnet 'copiousest;' Gray 'impudentest.' Of these forms, and it would be easy to adduce almost any number, we should hardly now employ one. In participles and adverbs in 'ly' these organic comparatives and superlatives hardly survive at all. We do not say 'willinger,' or 'lovinger,' and still less 'repiningest' (Sidney), 'flourishingest,' 'shiningest,' 'surmountingest,' all which Gabriel Harvey, a prime master of the English of his time, employs; 'plenteouslyer,' 'charitablier' (Barnes), 'amplier' (Milton), 'easiliest' (Fuller), 'plainliest' (Dryden), 'fulliest,' 'highliest' (both in Baxter), would be all inadmissible at present.

In the evident disposition of English at the present moment to reduce the number of words in which this more vigorous scheme of expressing degrees is allowed, we must recognize an evidence that the energies of youth and early manhood in the language are abating, and the stiffness of advancing age making itself felt. Still it fares with us here only as it fares with all languages, in which at a certain stage of their

development auxiliary words, leaving the main word unaltered, are preferred to inflections of this last. Such preference makes itself ever more strongly felt ; and, judging from analogy, I cannot doubt that a day, however distant now, will arrive, when the only way of forming comparatives and superlatives in the English language will be by prefixing 'more' and 'most ;' or, if the other survive, it will be in poetry alone. Doubtless such a consummation is to be regretted ; for our language is too monosyllabic already ; but it is one which no regrets will avert.

It will not fare otherwise, as we may be bold to predict, with the flexional genitive, formed in 's' or 'es.' This too will finally disappear, or will survive only in the diction of poetry. A time will arrive, when we shall no longer be free to say as now, either '*the king's sons*,' or '*the sons of the king*,' but when the latter will be the only admissible form. Tokens that we are travelling to this consummation are already evident. The region in which the alternative forms are equally good is daily narrowing. We should not now any more write, 'when *man's Son* shall come' (Wiclif), but 'when *the Son of man* shall come ;' nor yet '*the hypocrite's hope* shall perish' (Job viii. 13, A.V.), but '*the hope of the hypocrite* shall perish ;' nor '*the Philistines' land*' (Gen. xxi. 34), but '*the land of the Philistines* ;' not with Barrow, 'No man can be ignorant of *human life's brevity and uncertainty*,' but 'No man can be ignorant *of the brevity and uncertainty of human life*.' Already in our Authorized Version the analytic form has displaced in passages out of number the inflected. Thus at John xviii. 15, it is 'the palace of the High Priest ;' but in Coverdale,

'the High Priest's palace;' at Heb. ii. 17, 'the sins of the people,' but in earlier Versions 'the people's sins;' at 1 Pet. iv. 23, 'partakers of the sufferings of Christ,' but in earlier Versions 'partakers of Christ's passions;' at Zech. i. 11, 'the angel of the Lord,' but in Coverdale, 'the Lord's angel.' This change at the last revision found place in cases innumerable, but never, so far as I have observed, the converse. Here too the consummation anticipated may be centuries off, but with other of a like character will assuredly arrive.[1]

Of augmentatives, in which Spanish and Italian so much abound, we have never had many; of depreciatives, in which Italian is so ignobly rich, still fewer.[2] But with diminutives we were fairly furnished once, though not as the Romance languages are;[3] nor indeed as some of our own dialects. Thus in that of Banffshire 'horse' may be made small in the following fashion: 'horse,' 'horsie,' 'horsik,' 'horsikie;'

[1] Schleicher in his masterly treatise, *Die deutsche Sprache*, 1860, p. 69, notes the same as going forward in German: Das Schwinden der Casus und ihren Ersatz durch Präpositionen können wir in unsrer jetzigen deutschen Sprache recht deutlich beobachten. Anstatt süssen Weines voll u. dgl. pflegen wir im gewöhnlichen Leben schon zu sagen, voll von süssem Weine; ja manche deutsche Volksmundarten haben den Genitiv fast spurlos verloren, und sagen z. B. anstatt 'meines Bruders Sohn' entweder 'der Sohn von meinem Bruder,' oder 'meinem Bruder sein Sohn.' Compare Sayce, *Principles of Comparative Philology*, p. 369.

[2] Thus, besides 'sonetto' there are names of contempt for every variety of bad sonnet, 'sonettaccio,' 'sonettuccio,' 'sonetorello,' 'sonettino,' 'sonettuzzo,' 'sonettuciaccio.'

[3] Diez, *Gramm. Rom.* vol. ii. p. 274.

and when the word cannot be 'belittled' any further, the aid of auxiliaries may be called in, 'wee horsikie,' 'wee wee horsikie,' 'little wee horsikie.' Diminutives, however, are leaving us fast. We prefer to express smallness by an auxiliary word; thus, a little fist, and not a 'fistock' (Golding), a little lad, and not a 'ladkin,' a little drop, and not a 'droplet' (Shakespeare), a little worm, and not a 'wormling' (Sylvester). It is true that of diminutives many still survive, in all our four main terminations of such, as 'hill*ock*,' 'stream*let*,' 'lamb*kin*,' 'gos*ling*;' but they are few as compared with those which have perished, and are every day becoming fewer. Where now is 'kingling' (Holland), 'friarling' (Foxe), 'twinling' (=gemellus, *Old Vocabulary*), 'beamling' (Vaughan), 'whimling' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'popeling' (Hacket), 'tenderling' (Harrison), 'streamling,' 'godling,' 'loveling,' 'dwarfling,' 'shepherdling' (all in Sylvester), 'chasteling' (Becon), 'niceling' (Stubbs), 'poetling,' 'fosterling' (both in Ben Jonson), and 'masterling'? Where now 'porelet' (=paupercula, Isai. x. 30), 'bundelet' (both in Wiclif); 'chastilet' or little castle (*Piers Plowman*), 'cushionet' (Henry More), 'riveret,' 'orphanet' (both in Drayton), 'closulet,' 'lionet' (both in Phineas Fletcher), 'herblet' (Shakespeare), 'modulet' (Sylvester), 'thronelet' (Herrick), 'dragonet,' 'arboret' (both in Spenser), 'havenet,' 'pistolet'? Where, again, is 'bulkin' (Holland), 'canakin,' 'bodikin' (both in Shakespeare), 'thumbkin,' 'maidkin,' 'ladykin,' 'slamkin' (a slovenly girl); or where 'pillock' (Levins), 'laddock,' 'hummock,' 'ruddock,' 'paddock,' 'wifock' (Golding), and a hundred more? Even of those remaining to us still many are putting

off, or have long since put off, any diminutive suggestion; a 'pocket' being no longer a *small* poke, nor a 'latchet' a *small* lace, nor a 'trumpet' a *small* trump, as formerly they were; just as our Greek Testament attests that many words in the 'common dialect' of Greek wherein it is written have done the same. The attempt to form new diminutives on any of these patterns, as when Carlyle of prince forms 'princekin,' of Fritz makes 'Fritzkin,' is attended with very moderate success. Few outlive the time of their birth.

We have at this present day a large number of nouns adjective, which we make do the work of nouns substantive, as a 'white,' a 'black,' an 'antient,' a 'modern,' 'operatives,' 'simples,' 'valuables.' But there was a far greater freedom in this turning of adjectives into substantives two or three centuries ago; such adjectives generally, but by no means always, designating persons and not things; and being most often used in the plural number. Thus we had once in use, though we hardly have now, 'abjects' (English Bible), 'audibles' (Bacon), 'concurrents' (=rivals, Holland), 'dainties,' 'delicates' (used both of persons by the same), 'desirables' (Cowper), 'desperates' (Brereton), 'gentles' (Shakespeare), 'frantics' (Adams), 'humans' (Chapman), 'fantastics' (Milton), 'freshes' (Shakespeare), 'ignorants' (Jeremy Taylor), 'memorables,' 'observables' (both in Fuller), 'resolutes' (Shakespeare), 'unworthies' (Brereton), 'valiants' (English Bible, margin), 'visibles' (Bacon), 'vulgars' (Shakespeare). I have quoted these in the plural as I do not know them in the singular; but we may add to these a 'droll' (=a farce, Kirkman), an 'eloquent' (Jeremy Taylor), a 'forlorn' (Shakespeare), a 'plea-

sant' (=a buffoon, Holland). No one of these which I have just enumerated has established itself in the language; nor can I call to mind for the filling up of the places which they have left empty any considerable growth of other words of the same kind. At the same time the coming up in the last few years of words like the following, namely, 'anæsthetics,' an 'expert,' an 'irreconcilable,' a 'rough,' a 'stupid,' attest the fact that this power of compelling adjectives to do the work of substantives is not wholly extinct.

There was a time when nouns substantive in 'er,' this identical probably with the Latin 'vir,' sprung out of verbs almost as naturally as participles do now. This free and spontaneous generation of such cannot be said to exist any more; and of the nouns in this way generated, a vast number have been subsequently in practice disallowed. Let me instance a few, in proof how freely these once were formed; thus 'constrainer,' 'feigner' (both in Wiclif), 'appearer,' 'banisher,' 'bridger,' 'budger,' 'causer,' 'correctioner,' 'depender,' 'forfeiter,' 'giber,' 'needer,' 'pauser,' 'rumourer,' 'seemer,' 'squarer,' 'succeeder,' 'taster,' 'truster,' 'torcher,' 'wronger' (all in Shakespeare), 'doomer' (Greene), 'extirper' (from the obsolete verb 'to extirp,' Bacon), 'craver,' 'escaper' (A. V., margin), 'forsaker,' 'liker,' 'puler,' 'saver' (all in North), 'turmoiler' (Frith), 'decider' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'commotioner' (Crowley), 'possessioner,' 'judger' (both in Coverdale), 'eluder,' 'obeyer' (both in Rogers), 'exhauster,' 'praiser,' 'prizer' (all in Ben Jonson), 'haranguer,' 'proscriber' (both in Dryden), 'fabler,' 'fabricker' (both in Holyday), 'gracer'

(Chapman), 'motioner' (*A. V., Preface*), 'representer' (Cranmer), 'ruiner,' 'advancer' (both in Fuller), 'practiser' (Jeremy Taylor), 'treatiser' (Field), 'homager' (Quarles), 'righter' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'imager,' 'roper' (both in Holland), 'distracter,' 'neglecter,' 'slighter' (all in Baxter), 'shamer,' 'whetter' (both in Beaumont and Fletcher), with many more which it would not be hard to bring together.

There are other ways in which our present English is not what our past English was, has abdicated powers which it once possessed, or has so long intermitted to claim them that it could hardly venture to do so now. Think for example of the freedom with which Shakespeare, and he is very far from being alone in this, made almost any noun substantive into a verb at his pleasure; thus 'to ambition,' 'to antic,' 'to ballad,' 'to balm,' 'to barn,' 'to bench,' 'to blanket,' 'to bombast,' 'to boy,' 'to bride,' 'to buckler,' 'to casket,' 'to champion,' 'to child,' 'to climate,' 'to compeer,' 'to condition,' 'to coward,' 'to craven,' 'to cupboard,' 'to disaster,' 'to decalogue,' 'to dialogue,' 'to duke,' 'to dumb,' 'to faith,' 'to fortress,' 'to furnace,' 'to ghost,' 'to god,' 'to gospel,' 'to history,' 'to host,' 'to hovel,' 'to hull,' 'to king,' 'to kingdom,' 'to knee,' 'to lesson,' 'to life,' 'to lip,' 'to livery,' 'to malice,' 'to mart,' 'to miracle,' 'to mist,' 'to monster,' 'to mountebank,' 'to necessity,' 'to niggard,' 'to nose,' 'to office,' 'to page,' 'to pang,' 'to path,' 'to pattern,' 'to pellet,' 'to period,' 'to prince,' 'to property,' 'to repast,' 'to ruffian,' 'to safeguard,' 'to scythe,' 'to sepulchre,' 'to servant,' 'to sinew,' 'to sire,' 'to sister,' 'to spectacle,' 'to stage,' 'to stranger,' 'to timber,' 'to tongue,' 'to

truncheon,' 'to uproar,' 'to verse,' 'to virgin,' 'to window,' 'to woman,' 'to womb.' He asserts the same liberty with noun adjectives; thus, 'to bold,' 'to coy,' 'to dear,' 'to demure,' 'to dumb,' 'to false,' 'to feeble,' 'to fond,' 'to gentle,' 'to happy,' 'to mad,' 'to pensive,' 'to safe,' 'to tardy,' 'to unhappy,' 'to violent,' 'to worthy.' Other writers of the Elizabethan, of the preceding, and of the next succeeding age, use the same liberty, though scarcely to the same extent. Thus we meet 'to author' (Chapman), 'to bane' (Fuller), 'to blank' (North), 'to chest' (*A. V.*, margin), 'to cinder' (Gascoigne), 'to contrary' (North), 'to cranny' (Golding), 'to dark' (Spenser), 'to ditty' (P. Fletcher), 'to goal,' 'to guilt' (Wiclif), 'to halter' (Golding), 'to ignoble' (Bacon), 'to imbecile' (Jeremy Taylor), 'to mire' (Holland), 'to passion' (Beaumont and Fletcher), 'to prelate' (Latimer), 'to proverb,' 'to sycophant' (both in Milton), 'to tinsel' (Herrick), 'to title,' 'to truant' (both in Milton), 'to wrath' (Chapman), with others.

Once more—in the entire dropping among the higher classes, and in some parts of England among all classes, of 'thou,' except in poetry or in addresses to the Deity, and, consequent on this, in the dropping of the second singular of the verb with its strongly marked flexion, as 'lovest,' 'lovedst,' we have another example of a power which has been allowed to expire, a distinction to disappear. In the seventeenth century 'thou' in English, as at the present 'du' in German, 'tu' in French, was the sign of familiarity, whether that familiarity was of love or of contempt.[1] It was

[1] Thus Wallis (*Gramm. Ling. Anglic.*, 1654): Singulari

not unfrequently the latter. Thus at Sir Walter Raleigh's trial (1603), Coke, when argument and evidence failed him, insulted, and meant to insult, the illustrious prisoner by applying to him the term 'thou':—'All that Lord Cobham did was at *thy* instigation, *thou* viper! for I *thou* thee, *thou* traitor!' And when Sir Toby Belch in *Twelfth Night* is urging Sir Andrew Aguecheek to send a sufficiently provocative challenge to Viola, he suggests 'that he taunt him with the licence of ink; if thou *thou'st* him some thrice, it shall not be amiss.' To keep this in mind will throw much light on one peculiarity of the Quakers, and give a certain dignity to it as once maintained, which at present it is very far from possessing. However needless and unwise their determination to 'thou' and 'thee' the whole world, this was not then, as it seems now to us, and as indeed through the silent changes which language has undergone, it now is, a gratuitous departure from the ordinary usage of society. Right or wrong, it meant something, and had an ethical motive: being indeed a testimony upon their parts, however misplaced, that they would not have high or great or rich men's persons in admiration; nor render the observance to some which they withheld from others. It was a testimony too which cost them something. At present we can very little understand the amount of courage which this 'thouing' and 'thee-ing' of all the world demanded on their parts, the amount of indignation and offence which it stirred up where men were not aware of, or

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numero siquis alium compellet, vel dedignantis illud esse solet, vel familiariter blandientis.

would not allow for, the scruples which, as the Quakers considered, obliged them to this course.[1] It is, however, in its other aspect that we must chiefly regret the dying out of the use of 'thou'—that is, as the token of peculiar intimacy and special affection, as between husband and wife, parents and children, and others who might be knit together by bands of more than a common love.

Let me add before quitting the subject that this plural used in the addressing of single persons was not, I am sure, at the first any plural of majesty ; but had its origin in a reluctance to come face to face with the single personality of another. There is often in men's speech a similar shrinking from looking their own personality in the face, though it may show itself in a somewhat different way. When Purvey in the Preface to his revision of Wiclif's Bible, where he should say 'I' in the first person, prefers to substitute

[1] What the actual position of the compellation 'thou' was at that time, we learn from Fuller (*Church History, Dedication of Book* vii.) : 'In opposition whereunto [*i.e.* to the Quaker usage] we maintain that *thou* from superiors to inferiors is proper, as a sign of command ; from equals to equals is passable, as a note of familiarity ; but from inferiors to superiors, if proceeding from ignorance, hath a smack of clownishness ; if from affectation, a tone of contempt.' See a brief but instructive disquisition in Skeat's edition of *The Romance of William of Palerne*, p. xli., in proof that in early English literature the distinction between 'thou' and 'ye,' as here laid down, was accurately observed. There is a most interesting and exhaustive treatment of the past relation between 'thou' and 'you' in *Guesses at Truth*, 1866, pp. 120–133 ; see also Abbott, *A Shakespearean Grammar*, 1870, pp. 153–159 ; and Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, s. v. Du.

'a simple creature' in the third; or Wiclif himself, in the same way, for 'I' substitutes 'a poor caitiff;' when a fine Canadian lumberer, as I lately read in a book of American travel, would never designate himself otherwise than as 'this horse;' or when the Chinese scholar speaks of 'ts'ie' or 'the thief,' meaning hereby himself,[1] we may trace in all these the same feeling uttering itself in slightly different ways.

I have already remarked more than once that nothing can be imagined more stealthy, more calculated to elude observation, than the disappearance of an old form, and the usurpation of its place by a new. Take for instance the getting rid of the plural in 'n' or 'en.' This, originally the Saxon plural in 'an' of the first declension, had, during the anarchical period of the language, spread over a much larger group of words; but, as we all know, has long since given place, partly, no doubt, under French influences, to 's,' which, once the sign in a single declension, is now the almost universal sign of the plural.[2] By steps so slow as to be almost imperceptible, diffused as they have been over vast spaces of time, this dismissal of one and adoption of another has been effected. Long before Chaucer, already in the *Rhymed Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester, written before 1300, it is evident that the Old-English termination in 'n' or 'en' is giving way, and that in 's' has virtually won the day; but we do not the less meet in this 'arwen' (arrows), 'steden,' 'sterren,' 'ameten' (emmets), 'chyrchen,'

[1] We may compare the 'Hunc hominem' of Horace, *Sat.* 1. 9. 47.

[2] See Mätzner, p. 220.

'massen,' 'been,' 'heveden' (heads), 'applen,' 'candlen,' 'honden,' 'soulen,' 'unclen,' 'lancen,' and others; as in *The Romance of King Alexander*, of the same date, we have 'crabben,' 'hawen,' 'slon' (sloes), 'noten' (nuts). In Chaucer's time they are very much fewer, while yet he has 'ashen,' 'been,' 'dougteren,' 'eyne,' 'fone,' 'shoon,' 'sistren;' but all these side by side with our present 'ashes,' 'bees,' 'daughters,' 'foes,' and the rest; employing now one and now the other. Thus the region which the plural in 'n' occupied once has greatly narrowed, and it is not in exclusive occupation even of this; although still retaining a certain ground of its own. Two centuries later 'sistern' is still alive; it is frequent in Tyndale, Coverdale, and other of our early Reformers; and in discourses from the pulpit in America it still goes hand in hand with 'brethren.' 'Peasen' too is still the plural of 'pease,' which is itself a singular, the low Latin 'pisum,' 'pea' not having yet been heard of; 'hosen' too appears in our Authorized Version (Dan. iii. 21), and this though Wiclif already had 'hosis.' 'Fone,' too, and 'shoon,' 'eyne' also, and 'skyen,' are all found in the diction of poetry, but chiefly in that of poets who, like Spenser, affect the archaic. At the present day, setting aside four or five words which have preserved, and will now probably preserve to the end, the termination in 'en,' as 'oxen,' 'chicken,' 'kine' (kyen, a cumulate plural, for 'kye,' still current in Scotland, was a plural already), and 'brethren' (another cumulate plural), perhaps 'eyne' is the only one of these plurals which even a poet would feel at liberty to employ; while a few others, as 'housen,' 'fuzzen' (furzes), 'cheesen' (Dorset-

shire), and possibly one or two more, maintain a provincial existence.

A history very nearly similar might be traced of the process by which the southern termination of the participle present, namely the suffix 'ing,' has superseded and displaced the northern 'and,' so that we say now 'doing,' 'sitting,' 'leaping,' not 'doand,' 'sittand,' 'leapand.' We have here, it is true, a further circumstance helping to conceal and keep out of sight the progress of the change; namely, the only gradual passing, through intermediate steps, of the one form into the other, of 'and' into 'end,' into 'ind,' and finally into 'ing,' examples of all these four forms sometimes occurring side by side in the same work; for example in *The Romance of William of Palerne*, of date about 1350. Spenser's 'glitterand' (*F. Q.* i. 7. 29) is about the last surviving specimen in English of the northern form; in Scotland it maintained its ground to a far later day, in some sort maintains it still,[1] as every reader of Burns must be aware.

It is thus, and by steps such as these, that a change is brought about. That which ultimately is to win all comes in, it may be, at first as an exception; it then just obtains a footing and allowance; it next exists side by side and on equal terms with the old; then overbears it; and finally, it may be, so claims the whole domain of the language as its own, that a single isolated word, like the 'paterfamil*ias*' of the Latins, is all which survives of what was once the law for all words of a certain class in a language.

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[1] See Morris, *English Accidence*, p. 180.

I will not conclude this lecture without one further illustration of the same law, which, as I have sought to show, is evermore working, and causing this and that to be dismissed from a language, so soon as ever the speakers feel that it is not absolutely indispensable, that they can attain their end, which is, to convey their meaning, without it; though, having dwelt on the subject so fully, I shall do little more than indicate this. I refer not here to any change in English now going forward, but to one which completed its course several centuries ago; namely, to the renouncing upon its part, of any distribution of nouns into masculine, feminine, and neuter, as in German, or even into masculine and feminine, as in French; and with this, and as a necessary consequence of this, the dropping of any flexional modification of the adjectives in regimen with them. It was the boldest step in the way of simplification which the language has at any time taken; and one which it took centuries fully to accomplish. Natural *sex*, of course, remains, being inherent in all language; but grammatical *gender*, with the exception of 'he,' 'she,' and 'it,' and perhaps one or two other fragmentary instances, our language has altogether foregone. An example will make clear the distinction between these. Thus it is not the word 'poetess' which is *feminine*, but the person indicated who is *female*. So too 'daughter,' 'queen,' are in English not *feminine* nouns, but nouns designating *female* persons. Take on the contrary 'filia' or 'regina,' 'fille' or 'reine,' you have there *feminine* nouns as well as *female* persons. We did not inherit this simplicity from others, but, like the Danes, in so far as they have

done the like, have made it for ourselves. Whether we turn to the Latin, or, which is for us more important, to the old Teutonic, we find gender; and in all the daughter languages which were born of the Latin, in most of those which have descended from the ancient Teutonic stock, it is fully established to this day. We are sometimes disposed to think of German and English as languages very much abreast of one another in their development; nay, if I do not mistake, to regard German in some way or other as the older language of the two. But indeed such a fact as that to which I am now calling your attention, namely that English has rid itself of these distinctions of gender, which burden the memory, but serve no good purpose whatever, while German is hampered with them still, is itself proof sufficient, though other proof there is also in abundance, that English has in one way or another got the start of German and kept it, has found means to disembarrass itself of much which still encumbers German. Of this no doubt German too will rid itself in time, according to the course which all languages, some faster and some slower, run; although centuries may elapse before such a consummation will arrive.[1] The practical businesslike character of the English mind asserted itself in the rejection of a distinction, which in a vast proportion of words, that is, in all which are the signs of *inanimate* objects, and as such incapable of sex, rested upon a fiction, and had no ground in the real

[1] Why English should have travelled at a more rapid rate than German Koch in his excellent *Grammar*, p. 6, has well explained.

nature of things. It is only by an act and effort of the imagination that sex, and thus gender, can be attributed to a table, a ship, or a tree;[1] and there are aspects, this being one, in which the English is among the least imaginative of all languages, even while it has been employed in some of the mightiest works of imagination which the world has ever seen.[2]

What, it may be asked, is the meaning and explanation of all this? It is that at certain earlier periods

[1] Compare Pott, *Etym. Forsch.*, part 2, p. 404; Heyse, *Syst. d. Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 418. The entirely arbitrary character of the attribution of gender to sexless things is illustrated well by the way in which different genders are ascribed in the same book to one and the same thing; thus in our Authorized Version, 'the tree *his* fruit' (Dan. iv. 14), 'the tree *her* fruit' (Rev. xxii. 1); and the different Versions vary, thus 'the vine *her* roots' (Ezek. xvii. 7, A. V.), 'the vine *his* roots' (ibid. Coverdale); 'the salt *his* savour' (Matt. v. 13, A. V.), 'the salt *her* saltness' (ibid. Tyndale). But at a much earlier date it had become to a great extent a matter of subjective individual feeling whether *his* (masculine and neuter) or *her* (feminine) should be employed. The two recensions of Wiclif frequently differ from one another; thus at Job xxxix. 14, the first, 'the ostridge *her* eggs,' the second, 'the ostridge *his* eggs;' so too at Gen. viii. 9, the first, 'the culver *his* foot,' the second, 'the culver *her* foot;' Wisdom is 'it' in the first version; but 'she' in Purvey's revision. Marsh's judgment on the whole matter is a just one. In his *Lectures on the English Language*, p. 400, he says:—The indiscriminate attribution of the three genders, as in Anglo-Saxon and German, or of the masculine and feminine, as in French and Italian, to inanimate objects, is philosophically a blemish, and practically a serious inconvenience in those languages; and it is a great improvement in English that it has simplified its grammar, by rejecting so superfluous, unmeaning, and embarrassing a subtlety.

[2] Compare Chasles, *Études sur l'Allemagne*, p. 25.

of a nation's life its genius is synthetic, and at later becomes analytic. At earlier periods the imagination is more than the understanding; men love to contemplate the thing and the mode of the thing together, as a single idea, bound up in one. But a time arrives when the intellectual obtains the upper hand of the imaginative, when the inclination of those that speak a language is to analyse, to distinguish between these two, and not only to distinguish, but to divide, to have one word for the thing itself, and another for the quality or manner of the thing; and this, as it would appear, is true, not of some languages only, but of all.

LECTURE VII.

CHANGES IN THE MEANING OF ENGLISH WORDS.

I PROPOSE in my present lecture to consider a little those changes which have found, or are now finding, place in the meaning of English words; so that, whether we are aware of it or not, we employ them at this day in senses very different from those in which our forefathers employed them of old.[1] You will observe that it is not *obsolete* words, such as have quite fallen out of present use, which I propose to consider; but such, rather, as are still on the lips of men, although with meanings more or less removed from those which once they possessed. My subject is far more practical, has far more to do with your actual life, than if I were to treat of words at the present day altogether out of use. These last have an interest indeed; but so long as they remain what

[1] There is a very interesting and instructive essay, which extends over some seventy pages, in Littré's *Études et Glanures*, Paris, 1880, entitled *Pathologie Verbale*, which travels over much of the same ground as this lecture, and to which I would invite your attention; although, as the name which he has given to it sufficiently indicates, it is words which have, if I may so express myself, suffered in one shape or another to which he restricts his studies.

they are, and can be found only in our glossaries, it is an interest of an antiquarian character. They constitute a part of the intellectual money with which our ancestors carried on the business of their lives; but now they are rather medals for the cabinets and collections of the curious than current money for the service of all. Their wings are clipped; they are '*winged* words' no more; the spark of thought or feeling, kindling from mind to mind, no longer runs along them, as along the electric wires of the soul. And then, besides this, there is little danger that any should be misled by them. They are as rocks which, standing out from the sea, declare their presence, and are therefore easily avoided; while those other are as hidden rocks, which are the more dangerous, that their very existence is unsuspected. A reader lights for the first time on some word which has now passed out of use, as 'frampold,' or 'garboil,' or 'brangle;' he is at once conscious of his ignorance; he has recourse to a glossary, or, if he guesses from the context at the signification, still his guess is a guess to him, and no more.

But words that have changed their meaning have often a deceivableness about them. A reader not once doubts but that he knows their intention; he is visited with no misgiving about them. There is nothing to tell him that they possess for him another force than that which they possessed for the author in whose writings he finds them, and which they conveyed to *his* contemporaries. He little dreams how far the old life may have gone out of them, and a new life entered in. Let us suppose a student to light on a passage like the following (it is from the *Preface* to Howell's

Lexicon, 1660): 'Though the root of the English language be *Dutch*, yet it may be said to have been inoculated afterwards on a French stock.' He may know that the Dutch is a dialect of the great Teutonic family of languages, and one very nearly related to our own; but that it is the root of English will certainly perplex him, and he will hardly know what to make of the assertion; perhaps he ascribes it to ignorance in his author, who is thereby unduly lowered in his esteem. But presently in the course of his reading he meets with the following statement, this time in Fuller's *Holy War*, being a history of the Crusades: 'The French, *Dutch*, Italian, and English were the four elemental nations, whereof this army [of the crusaders] was compounded.' If the student has sufficient historical knowledge to know that in the time of the Crusades there were no Dutch in our use of the word, this statement would merely startle him; and probably before he had finished the chapter, having his attention once roused, he would perceive that Fuller with the writers of his time used 'Dutch' for German; even as it was constantly so used to the end of the seventeenth century,—what we call now a Dutchman being then a Hollander,—and as the Americans use it to this present day. But a raw student might very possibly want that amount of previous knowledge which should cause him to receive this announcement with surprise and misgiving; and he might rise from a perusal of the book, persuaded that the Dutch, as we call them, played an important part in the Crusades, while the Germans took little or no part in them at all.

And as it is here with an historic fact, so still more

often will it happen with the subtler moral and ethical modifications which words have undergone. Out of these it will continually happen that words convey now much more reprobation, or convey now much less, than once they did; or, it may be, convey reprobation of a different kind; and a reader, unaware of their altered value, may seriously misread his author, never doubting all the while that he perfectly takes in his meaning. Thus when Shakespeare makes the gallant York address Joan of Arc as a 'miscreant,' how coarse a piece of invective this sounds; how unlike what the chivalrous soldier would have uttered; or what Shakespeare, even with his unworthy estimate of the holy warrior-maid, would have been likely to put into his mouth. But the 'miscreant' of Shakespeare's time was not the 'miscreant' of ours. He was simply, in agreement with the etymology of the word, a misbeliever, one who did not believe rightly the articles of the Catholic Faith. This I need not remind you was the constant charge which the English brought against the Pucelle,—namely, that she was a dealer in hidden magical arts, a witch, and as such had fallen from the faith. On this plea they burnt her, and it is this which York intends when he calls her a 'miscreant,' not what we should intend by the name.

In poetry above all what beauties are often missed, what forces lost, through this taking for granted that the present meaning of a word accurately represents the past. How often the poet is wronged in our estimation; that seeming to us now flat and pointless, which would assume quite another aspect did we know how to read into some word the emphasis which it

once had, but which now has departed from it. For example, Milton ascribes in *Comus* the '*tinsel-slippered* feet' to Thetis, the goddess of the sea. How comparatively poor an epithet this 'tinsel-slippered' sounds to as many as know of 'tinsel' only in its modern acceptation of mean and cheap finery, affecting a splendour which it does not really possess. But learn its earlier use by learning its derivation, bring it back to the French 'étincelle,' and the Latin 'scintillula:' see in it, as Milton and the writers of his time saw, 'the sparkling,' and how exquisitely beautiful a title does this become applied to a sea-goddess; how vividly does it call up before our mind's eye the quick glitter and sparkle of the waves under the light of sun or moon.[1] It is the 'silver-footed' (ἀργυρόπεζα) of Homer; but this not servilely transferred, rather reproduced and made his own by the English poet, dealing as one great poet will do with another; not disdaining to borrow, but ever adding to what he borrows, and justifying hereby his appropriation of it, a further grace of his own.

Or, again, do we always keep in mind, or are we even aware, that whenever the word 'influence' occurs in our English poetry, down to comparatively a modern date, there is always more or less remote allusion to invisible illapses of power, skyey, planetary effects, supposed to be exercised by the heavenly luminaries upon the dispositions and the lives of men? The ten occasions on which the word occurs in Shakespeare

[1] So in Herrick's *Electra*:

> 'More white than are the whitest creams,
> Or moonlight *tinselling* the streams.'

do not offer a single exception. How many a passage starts into new life and beauty and fulness of allusion, when this is present with us; even Milton's

> 'store of ladies, whose bright eyes
> Rain *influence*,'

as spectators of the tournament, gain something, when we regard them—and using this language, he intended we should—as the luminaries of this lower sphere, shedding by their propitious presence strength and valour into the hearts of their champions.

A word will sometimes even in its present acceptation yield a convenient and even a correct sense; the last I have cited would do so; we may fall into no positive misapprehension about it; and still, through ignorance of its past history and of the force which it once possessed, we may miss much of its significance. We are not *beside* the meaning of our author, but we are *short* of it. Thus in Beaumont and Fletcher's *King and no King*,[1] a cowardly braggart of a soldier describes the treatment he experienced, when, like Parolles, he was at length found out, and stripped of his lion's skin:—'They hung me up by the heels and beat me with hazel sticks, . . . that the whole kingdom took notice of me for a *baffled* whipped fellow.' Were you reading this passage, there is probably nothing which would make you pause; you would attach to 'baffled' a sense which sorts very well with the context—'hung up by the heels and beaten, all his schemes of being thought much of were *baffled* and defeated.' But 'baffled' implies far more than this; it contains allusion to a custom in the days of

[1] Act iii. Sc. 2.

chivalry, according to which a perjured or recreant knight was either in person, or more commonly in effigy, hung up by the heels, his scutcheon blotted, his spear snapt in two, and he himself or his effigy made the subject of all kinds of indignities; such an one being said to be 'baffled.'[1] Twice in Spenser recreant knights are so treated. I can only quote a portion of the shorter passage, in which this infamous punishment is described:

> 'And after all, for greater infamy
> He by the heels him hung upon a tree,
> And *baffled* so, that all which that passèd by
> The picture of his punishment might see.'[2]

Probably when Beaumont and Fletcher wrote, men were not so remote from the days of chivalry, or at any rate from the literature of chivalry, but that this custom was still fresh in their minds. How much more to them than to us, so long as we are ignorant of the same, must their words just quoted have conveyed?

There are several places in the Authorized Version of Scripture, where those unaware of the changes we are speaking of, can hardly fail of being to a certain extent misled as to the intention of our Translators; or, if they are better acquainted with Greek than with early English, will be tempted to ascribe to them, though unjustly, an inexact rendering of the original. Thus the altered meaning of 'religion' may very easily draw after it a serious misunderstanding in that well-

[1] See Holinshed, *Chronicles*, vol. iii. pp. 827, 1218; Ann. 1513, 1570.

[2] *Fairy Queen*, vi. 7, 27; cf. v. 3, 37.

known statement of St. James, 'Pure *religion* and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction.' 'There!' exclaims one who wishes to set up St. James against St. Paul, that so he may escape the necessity of obeying either, 'listen to what St. James says; there is nothing mystical in what he requires; instead of harping on faith as a condition necessary to salvation, he makes all religion to consist in deeds of active well-doing and kindness one to another.' But let us pause for a moment. Did 'religion,' when our Version was made, mean godliness? did it mean the *sum total* of our duties towards God? for, of course, no one would deny that deeds of charity are a necessary part of our Christian duty, an evidence of the faith which is in us. There is abundant evidence to show that 'religion' did not mean this; that, like the Greek θρησκεία, for which it here stands, like the Latin 'religio,' it meant the outward forms and embodiments in which the inward principle of piety clothed itself, the *external service* of God: and St. James is urging upon those to whom he is writing something of this kind: 'Instead of the ceremonial services of the Jews, which consisted in divers washings and in other elements of this world, let our service, our θρησκεία, take a nobler shape, let it consist in deeds of pity and of love'—and it was this which our Translators intended, when they used 'religion' here and 'religious' in the verse preceding. How little 'religion' was formerly in meaning co-extensive with godliness, how predominantly it was used for the *outward* service of God, is plain from many passages in our *Homilies*, and from other contemporary literature.

Or again consider some words in the Sermon on the Mount, '*Take no thought* for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink' (Matt. vi. 25). They have been often found fault with; and, to quote one of the fault-finders, 'most English critics have lamented the inadvertence of our Authorized Version, which in bidding us *take no thought* for the necessaries of life prescribed to us what is impracticable in itself, and would be a breach of Christian duty even if possible.' But there is no 'inadvertence' here. When our Translation was made, 'Take no thought' was a perfectly correct rendering of the words of the original. 'Thought' was then constantly used for painful solicitude and care. Thus Bacon writes, 'Harris an alderman was put in trouble and died of *thought* and anxiety before his business came to an end;' and in one of the *Somers Tracts* (its date is of the reign of Elizabeth) these words occur: 'In five hundred years only two queens have died in childbirth. Queen Catherine Parr died rather of *thought*.' A still better example occurs in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*—'*Take thought*, and die for Cæsar'—where 'to take thought' is to take a matter so seriously to heart that death ensues.

Again, there are words in our Prayer Book which are frequently misunderstood. Thus we ask of God that it would please Him 'to give and preserve to our use the *kindly* fruits of the earth.' What is commonly understood by these '*kindly* fruits of the earth'? The fruits, if I mistake not, in which the *kindness* of God or of nature towards us finds its expression. This is no unworthy meaning, but it is not the right one. The '*kindly* fruits' are the '*natural* fruits,' those which the

earth according to its *kind* should naturally bring forth, which it is appointed to produce. To show you how little 'kindly' meant once benignant, as it means now, I will instance an employment of it from Sir Thomas More's *Life of Richard the Third.* He tells us that Richard calculated by murdering his two nephews in the Tower to make himself accounted 'a *kindly* king' —not certainly a 'kindly' one in our present usage of the word; but, having put them out of the way, that he should then be lineal heir of the Crown, and should thus be reckoned as king *by kind* or natural descent; and such was of old the constant use of the word. Thus Bishop Andrewes, preaching on the Conspiracy of the Gowries, asks concerning the conspirators,—if indeed conspirators they were, and not rather foully murdered men,—'Where are they? Gone to their own place, to Judas their brother; as is most *kindly*, the sons to the father of wickedness, there to be plagued with him for ever.'

A phrase in one of our occasional Services, 'with my body I thee *worship*,' has perplexed and sometimes offended those who were unacquainted with the early uses of the word, and thus with the intention of the framers of that Service. Clearly in our modern sense of 'worship,' this language would be inadmissible. But 'worship' or 'worthship' meant 'honour' in our early English, and 'to worship' to honour, this meaning of 'worship' still very harmlessly surviving in 'worshipful,' and in the title of 'your worship,' addressed to the magistrate on the bench. So little was it restrained of old to the honour which man is bound to pay to God, that it is employed by Wiclif to express the honour which God will render

to his faithful servants and friends. Thus our Lord's declaration, 'If any man serve Me, him will my Father *honour*,' in Wiclif's translation reads thus, 'If any man serve Me, my Father shall *worship* him.'

Take another example of a misapprehension which may not be a very serious one; but which it is just as well to avoid. Fuller, our Church historian, praising some famous divine lately dead, exclaims, 'Oh the *painfulness* of his preaching!' How easily we might take this for an exclamation wrung out at the recollection of the tediousness which he inflicted on his hearers. Nothing of the kind; the words are a record not of the *pain* which he caused to others, but of the *pains* which he bestowed himself: nor can I doubt, if we had more 'painful' preachers in the old sense of the word, that is, who *took* pains themselves, we should have fewer 'painful' ones in the modern sense, who *cause* pain to their hearers. So too Bishop Grosthead is recorded as 'the *painful* writer of two hundred books'—not meaning hereby that these books were 'painful' in the reading, but that he was laborious and 'painful' in their composing.

Here is another easy misapprehension. Swift wrote a pamphlet, or *Letter to the Lord Treasurer*, with this title, 'A proposal for correcting, improving, and *ascertaining* the English Tongue.' Who that brought a knowledge of present English, and no more, to this passage, would doubt that '*ascertaining* the English Tongue' meant arriving at a certain knowledge of what it was? Swift, however, means something quite different to this. '*To ascertain* the English tongue' was not with him to arrive at a subjective certainty in our own minds of what that tongue is, but to give an

objective certainty to that tongue itself, so that henceforth it should not be subject to change any more. For even Swift himself, with all his masculine sense, entertained a dream of this kind, fancied that the growth of a language might be arrested, nothing from henceforth being added to it, nothing taken away, as is more fully declared in the work itself.[1]

In other places unacquaintance with the changes in a word's usage may leave you sorely perplexed and puzzled as to your author's meaning. It is evident that he has a meaning, but what it is you are unable to divine, even though all the words he employs are familiarly employed to the present day. Thus 'courtly Waller,' congratulating Charles the Second on his return from exile, and describing how men, once his bitterest enemies, were now the most earnest to offer themselves to his service, writes thus :

> 'Offenders now, the chiefest, do begin
> To strive for grace, and expiate their sin :
> All winds blow fair that did the world embroil,
> *Your vipers treacle yield*, and scorpions oil.'

Readers not a few before now will have been perplexed at the poet's statement that '*vipers treacle yield*' —who yet have been too indolent, or who have wanted the helps at hand enabling them to search out what his meaning was. There is in fact allusion here to a curious piece of legendary lore. 'Treacle,' or 'triacle,' as Chaucer wrote it, was originally a Greek word, and wrapped up in itself the once popular belief (a partial anticipation, by the way, of homœopathy), that a confection of the viper's flesh was the most potent antidote

[1] *Works* (Sir W. Scott's edition), vol. ix. p. 139.

against the viper's bite.[1] Waller serves himself of this old legend, familiar enough in his time, for Milton speaks of 'the sovran *treacle* of sound doctrine,'[2] while 'Venice treacle,' or 'viper-wine,' was a common name for a supposed antidote against all poisons; and he would say that regicides themselves began to be loyal, vipers not now yielding hurt any more, but rather a healing medicine for the old hurts which they themselves had inflicted. 'Treacle,' it may be observed, designating first this antidote, came next to designate any antidote, then any medicinal confection or sweet syrup, and lastly that particular syrup, namely, the sweet syrup of molasses, to which alone we now restrict the word.

I will draw on Fuller for one more illustration of the matter in hand. In his *Holy War*, having enumerated the rabble rout of fugitive debtors, runaway slaves, thieves, adulterers, murderers, of men laden for one reason or another with heaviest censures of the Church, who swelled the ranks, and helped to make

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[1] Θηριακή, from θηρίον, a designation given to the viper (Acts xxviii. 4). 'Theriac' is only the more rigid form of the same word, the scholarly, as distinguished from the popular, adoption of it. Augustine (*Con. duas Epp. Pelag.* iii. 7): Sicut fieri consuevit antidotum etiam de serpentibus contra venena serpentum. See the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, Way's edition, s. v.

[2] And Chaucer, more solemnly still:

'Christ, which that is to every harm *triacle*.'

The *antidotal* character of treacle comes out yet more in these lines of Lydgate:

'There is no *venom* so parlious in sharpnes,
As whan it hath of *treacle* a likenes.'

up the army, of the Crusaders, he exclaims, 'A lamentable case, that the devil's *black guard* should be God's soldiers!' What does he mean, we may ask, by 'the devil's *black guard*'? The phrase does not stand here alone; it is, on the contrary, of frequent recurrence in the early dramatists and others down to the time of Dryden; in whose *Don Sebastian*, 'Enter the captain of the rabble, with the *Black guard*,' is a stage direction. What is this 'black guard'? Has it any connection with a word of our homeliest vernacular? None which is very apparent, and yet such as may very clearly be traced. In old times the palaces of our kings and seats of our nobles were more rudely and more scantily furnished than at the present day: and thus it was customary, when a royal progress was made, or when the great nobility exchanged one residence for another, that at such a removal all kitchen utensils, pots and pans, and even coals, should be also carried with them where they went. The scullions and other meaner retainers, who rode amongst these and were smutted by them, were contemptuously styled 'the black guard:'[1] then any troop or company of ragamuffins; and lastly, when the word's history was obscured and men forgot that it properly belonged to a company, to a rabble rout, and not to a single person, one would compliment another, not as belonging to, but as himself being, 'a black guard.'

These examples are sufficient to prove that this study of the changed meaning of words to which I

[1] 'A slave, that within these twenty years rode with the *black guard* in the Duke's carriage, 'mongst spits and dripping pans' (Webster, *White Devil*, act i. sc. 1).

invite you, is not a useless and unprofitable study, nor yet one altogether without entertainment. It is a study so far from unprofitable, that no one who desires to read with accuracy, and thus with advantage and pleasure, our earlier classics, who would not often fall short of, and often go astray from, their meaning, can omit it altogether. This being so, we could not more usefully employ such time as to-day remains, than in seeking to indicate those changes to which words are most frequently subject; and to trace as far as we can the forces, moral and material, which bring these changes about, with the good or the evil out of which they have sprung, and to which they bear witness. For indeed they are seldom or never changes at random, being obedient to certain laws, the outward transcripts and attestations of mental and moral processes which have gone forward inwardly in those who bring them about. Much, it is true, will escape any classification of ours: will appear to us as the result of mere caprice, and not to be explained by any principle to which we can appeal. But all this admitted freely, in far the greater number of instances the change will be reducible to some law or other, and will be explicable by it. With these instances we will occupy ourselves now.[1]

And first, the extent of meaning which a word covers is oftentimes gradually narrowed. It was once as a generic name, embracing many as yet unnamed species within itself, which all went by its common

[1] See upon this subject Sayce, *Principles of Comparative Philology*, 1875, p. 56; and, going more fully into it, Pott, *Etym. Forschung.* vol. v. p. xxx. sqq.

designation. By and by it is found convenient that each of these should have its own more special sign allotted to it.[1] It fares here very much as it fares in some newly enclosed country, where a single household will at first loosely occupy a whole district; which same district is in the course of time parcelled out among twenty proprietors, and under more accurate culture employs and sustains them all. Thus all food was once called 'meat;' it is so in our Bible, and 'horse-meat' for fodder is still no unusual phrase; yet 'meat' is now a name given only to flesh. Any little book or writing was a 'libel' once; now only such an one as is scurrilous and injurious. Every leader was a 'duke' (dux); thus '*duke* Hannibal' (Sir Thomas Elyot), '*duke* Brennus' (Holland), '*duke* Theseus' (Shakespeare), '*duke* Amalek,' with other 'dukes' in Scripture (Gen. xxxvi.). Every journey, by land as much as by sea, was a 'voyage.' 'Fairy' was not a name restricted, as now, to the *Gothic* mythology; thus 'the *fairy* Egeria' (Sir J. Harrington). A 'corpse' might quite as well be a body living as one dead. In each of these cases, the same contraction of the meaning retained, with the assigning to other words large portions of the meaning separated off, has found place. 'To starve' (most often spelt 'sterve' up to the middle of the seventeenth century) meant once, as does 'sterben' in German, to die any manner of death; thus Chaucer says, Christ '*sterved* upon the

[1] Génin (*Lexique de la Langue de Molière*, p. 367) says well: En augmentant le nombre des mots, il a fallu restreindre leur signification, et faire aux nouveaux un apanage aux dépens des anciens.

cross for our redemption ;' it now is restricted to the dying by cold or by hunger. Words not a few were once applied to both sexes alike, which are now restricted to the female. It is so even with 'girl,' which was once, as in *Piers Plowman* and Chaucer, a young person of either sex;[1] while other words, such as 'hoyden' (Milton, prose), 'shrew,' 'harlot,' 'leman' (all in Chaucer), 'coquet' (Phillips, *New World of Words*), 'witch' (Wiclif) ; 'wench,' 'slut' (Gower), 'termagant' (Bale), 'scold,' 'jade,' 'hag' (Golding), must, in their present exclusive appropriation to the female sex, be regarded as evidences of men's rudeness, and not of women's deserts.

The necessities of an advancing civilization demand more precision and accuracy than was necessary at the first, in the use of words having to do with weight, measure, number, size. Almost all such words as 'acre,' 'furlong,' 'yard,' 'gallon,' 'peck,' were once of a vague and unsettled use, and only at a later day, and in obedience to the necessities of commerce and social life, exact measures and designations. Thus any field was once an 'acre ;' and this remains so still with the German 'acker,' and with us when we give the name of 'God's acre' to the consecrated ground in which we lay our dead ; it was not till about the reign of Edward the First that 'acre' was commonly restricted to a determined measure and portion of land. Here and there even now a glebe-land will be called 'the

[1] And no less so in French with 'dame,' by which form not 'domina' only, but 'dominus,' was represented. Thus in early French poetry, '*Dame* Dieu' for '*Dominus* Deus' continually occurs.

acre ;' and this, though it should contain not one but many of our measured acres. A 'furlong' was a 'furrowlong,' or length of a furrow.[1] Any pole was a 'yard,' and this vaguer use survives in 'sail*yard*,' 'hal*yard*,' and in other sea-terms. Every pitcher was a 'galon' (Mark xiv. 13, Wiclif), while a 'peck' was no more than a 'poke' or bag. In other languages the same takes place. The Greek 'drachm' was at first a handful.[2] The word which stood at a later day for ten thousand (μύριοι), implied in Homer's time any great multitude ; and, differently accented, retained this vaguer meaning in the later periods of the language. 'Arsenic,' 'bark,' 'opium,' 'vervain,' 'vitriol,' are all in like manner words which have narrowed their sense, and mean now much less than once they meant, or than, according to their etymology, they would seem to mean.[3]

Over against this is a counter-process by which words of narrower intention gradually enlarge their domain of meaning, become capable of much wider application than any which once they admitted. Instances in this kind are fewer than in the last. The main stream and course of human thoughts and human discourse tends the other way, to discerning,

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[1] 'A *furlong*, quasi *furrowlong*, being so much as a team in England plougheth going forward, before they return back again' (Fuller, *Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, p. 42).

[2] Δραχμή = 'manipulus,' from δράσσομαι, to grasp as much as one can hold in the fingers.

[3] See John Mill, *Logic*, b. iv. ch. v. § 4. Any living creature which wanted discourse of reason might once be termed ἄλογον ; in modern Greek the word is restricted to, and is the name of, the horse.

distinguishing, dividing; and then to the permanent fixing of the distinctions gained, by the aid of designations which shall keep apart for ever in word that which has been once severed and sundered in thought. Nor is it hard to perceive why this process should be the more frequent. Men are first struck with the likeness between those things which are presented to them; on the strength of which likeness they mentally bracket them under a common term. Further acquaintance reveals their points of unlikeness, the real dissimilarities which lurk under superficial resemblances, the need therefore of a different notation for objects which are essentially different. It is comparatively much rarer to discover real likeness under what at first appeared as unlikeness; and usually when a word moves forward, and from a special acquires a general significance, it is not in obedience to any such discovery of the true inner likeness of things, —the steps of successful generalizations being marked and secured in other ways—but this widening of a word's meaning is too often a result of quite other causes. Men forget a word's history and etymology; its distinctive features are obliterated for them, with all that attached it to some thought or fact which by right was its own. All words in some sort are faded metaphors, but this is one in which the fading has become absolute and complete. Appropriated and restricted once to some striking speciality which it vividly set out, it can now be used in a wider, vaguer, more indefinite way; can be employed twenty times for once when it would have been possible formerly to employ it. Yet this is not gain but pure loss. It

has lost its place in the disciplined *army* of words, and become one of a loose and disorderly *mob*.[1]

Let me instance 'preposterous.' It is now no longer of any practical service at all in the language, being merely an ungraceful and slipshod synonym for absurd. But restore and confine it to its proper use; let it designate that one peculiar branch of absurdity which it indicated once, namely, the reversing of the true order of things, the putting of the last first, and, by consequence, of the first last, and what excellent service it would yield. Thus it is 'preposterous' to put the cart before the horse, to expect the wages before the work is done, to hang a man first and try him afterwards; and in this stricter sense 'preposterous' was always used by our elder writers.

In like manner 'to prevaricate' was never employed by good writers of the seventeenth century without nearer or more remote allusion to the uses of the word in the Roman law-courts, where a 'prævaricator' (properly a straddler with distorted legs) did not mean generally and loosely, as now with us, one who shuffles, quibbles, and evades; but one who played false in a particular manner; who, undertaking, or being by his office bound, to prosecute a charge, was in secret collusion with the opposite party; and, betraying the cause which he affected to sustain, so managed the accusation as to obtain not the condemnation, but the acquittal, of the accused; a 'feint

[1] The exact opposite of this will sometimes take place. Beaucoup de mots, qui du temps de Corneille se pliaient à plusieurs significations, se sont, de la façon la plus bizarre, immobilisés et pétrifiés, si l'on ose le dire, dans des sens étroits et restreints (*Lexique de la Langue de Corneille*, p. xxii.).

pleader,' as in our old law-language he would have been termed. How much force would the keeping of this in mind add to many passages in our elder divines.

Or take 'equivocal,' 'equivocate,' 'equivocation.' These terms, which belonged at first to logic, have slipped into common use ; but in so doing have lost all the precision of their first employment. 'Equivocation' is now almost any such questionable dealing in words with the intention of deceiving, as falls short of an actual lie ; but according to etymology and in primary use 'equivocation,' this fruitful mother of so much error, is the calling by the same name, of things essentially diverse, hiding intentionally or otherwise a real difference under a verbal resemblance.[1] Nor let it be urged in defence of the present looser use, that the word could not otherwise have served the needs of our ordinary conversation. So far from this, had it retained its proper use, how serviceable an implement of thought might it have proved for the detecting our own fallacies, or the fallacies of others. All this it can now be no longer.

What now is 'idea' for us? How infinite the fall of this word from the time when Milton sang of the Creator contemplating his newly-created world,

> 'how it showed,
> Answering his great *idea*,'

to the present use, when this person 'has an *idea* that the train has started,' and the other 'had no *idea* that

[1] Thus Barrow: 'Which [courage and constancy] he that wanteth is no other than *equivocally* a gentleman, as an image or a carcass is a man.'

the dinner would be so bad.' Matters have not mended since the times of Dr. Johnson; who, as Boswell tells us, 'was particularly indignant against the almost universal use of the word *idea* in the sense of *notion* or *opinion*, when it is clear that *idea* can only signify something of which an image can be formed in the mind.' There is perhaps no word in the whole compass of the language so ill treated, so rarely employed with any tolerable correctness; in none is the distance so immense between what properly it means, and the slovenly uses which popularly it is made to serve.

This tendency in words to lose the sharp, rigidly defined outline of meaning which they once possessed, to become of wide, vague, loose application instead of fixed, definite, and precise, to mean almost anything, and so really to mean nothing, is one of the most active and effectual tendencies evermore at work for the final ruin of a language, and I do not fear to add, for the moral injury of those that speak it. It is a tendency against which we shall all do well to watch; for there is none of us who cannot do something in the way of keeping words close to their own proper meaning, and in resisting their encroachment on the domain of others.

The causes which bring this mischief about are not hard to trace. We all know that when a piece of our silver money has for a long time been fulfilling its part as 'pale and common drudge 'tween man and man,' whatever it had at first of sharper outline and livelier impress is in the end nearly or altogether worn away. So it is with words, above all with words of theology and science. These, getting into general

use, and passing often from mouth to mouth, lose the 'image and superscription' which they had, before they descended from the school to the market-place, from the pulpit to the street. Being now caught up by those who understand imperfectly and thus incorrectly their true value, who will not be at the pains of learning what that is, or who are incapable of so doing, they are obliged to accommodate themselves to the lower sphere in which they circulate, by laying aside much of the precision and accuracy and fulness which once they had; they become feebler, shallower, more indistinct; till in the end, as true or adequate exponents of thought and feeling, they cease to be of any service at all.

Sometimes a word does not merely narrow or extend its meaning, but altogether changes it; and this it does in more ways than one. Thus a secondary figurative sense will quite put out of use and extinguish the literal, until in the entire predominance of that it is altogether forgotten that it ever possessed any other. In 'bombast' this forgetfulness is nearly complete. What 'bombast' now means is familiar to us all, namely, inflated words, 'full of sound and fury,' but 'signifying nothing.' This, at present the sole meaning, was once only the secondary and superinduced; 'bombast' being properly the cotton plant, and then the cotton wadding with which garments were stuffed out and lined. You remember perhaps how Prince Hal addresses Falstaff, 'How now, my sweet creature of *bombast*;' using the word in its literal sense; and another early poet has this line:

'Thy body's bolstered out with *bombast* and with bags.'

'Bombast' was then transferred in a vigorous image to the big words without substance or solidity wherewith the discourses of some were stuffed out, and knows at present no other meaning but this. 'To garble' was once 'to cleanse from dross and dirt, as grocers do their spices, to pick or cull out.'[1] It is never used now in this its primary sense, and has indeed undergone this further change, that while once 'to garble' was to sift for the purpose of selecting the best, it is now to sift with a view of picking out the worst.[2] 'Polite' is another word which in the figurative sense has quite extinguished the literal. We still speak of 'polished' surfaces; but not any more, with Cudworth, of '*polite* bodies, as looking-glasses.' Neither do we now 'exonerate' a ship (Burton); nor 'stigmatize' otherwise than figuratively, a malefactor (the same); nor 'corroborate' our health (Sir Thomas Elyot) any more.

Again, a word will travel on by slow and regularly progressive courses of change, itself a faithful index of changes going on in society and in the minds of men, till at length everything is changed about it. The process of this it is often very curious to observe; being one which it is possible to watch as step by step it advances to the final consummation. There may be said to be three leading phases which the word successively presents, three stages in its history. At first it grows naturally out of its own root, is filled with

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[1] Phillips, *New World of Words*, 1706.

[2] 'But his [Gideon's] army must be *garbled*, as too great for God to give victory thereby; all the fearful return home by proclamation' (Fuller, *Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, b. ii. c. 8).

its own natural meaning. Presently it allows another meaning, very often one foreign to its etymology, and superinduced on the earlier, to share possession with this, on the ground that where one exists, the other commonly exists with it. At the third step, the newly introduced meaning, not satisfied with a moiety, with dividing the possession of the word, has thrust out the original and rightful possessor altogether, and reigns henceforward alone. The three successive stages may be represented by *a*, *ab*, *b* ; in which series *b*, which was wanting altogether at the first stage, and was only admitted as secondary at the second, does at the third become primary, and indeed remains in sole and exclusive possession.

We must not suppose that in actual fact the transitions from one signification to another are so strongly and distinctly marked, as I have found it convenient to mark them here. Indeed it is hard to imagine anything more gradual, more subtle and imperceptible, than the process of change. The manner in which the new meaning first insinuates itself into the old, and then drives out the old, can only be compared to the process of petrifaction, as rightly understood—the water not gradually turning what has fallen into it to stone, as we generally assume the operation to be ; but successively displacing each several particle of that which is brought within its power, and depositing a stony particle in its stead, till in the end, while all appears to continue the same, all has in fact been thoroughly changed. It is precisely thus, by such slow, gradual, and subtle advances that the new meaning filters through and pervades the word, little by

little displacing entirely that which it formerly possessed.

No word would illustrate this process better than that old example, familiar probably to us all, of 'villain.' The 'villain' is, first, the serf or peasant, 'villanus,' because attached to the 'villa' or farm. He is, secondly, the peasant who, it is further taken for granted, will be churlish, selfish, dishonest, and generally of untoward moral conditions, these having come to be assumed as always belonging to him, and to be permanently associated with his name, by those higher classes of society, καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, who in the main commanded the springs of language. At the third step, nothing of the meaning which the etymology suggests, nothing of 'villa,' survives any longer; the peasant is wholly dismissed, and the untoward moral conditions of him who is called by this name alone remain ;[1] so that the name would now in this its final stage be applied as freely to peer, if he deserved it, as to peasant. 'Boor' has had exactly the same history ; being first the cultivator of the soil ; then secondly the cultivator of the soil who, it is assumed, will be coarse, rude, and unmannerly ; and then thirdly, any one who is coarse, rude, and unmannerly. So too 'pagan ;' which is first villager, then heathen villager, and lastly heathen.[2] You may trace the same pro-

[1] Epigrams and proverbs like the following, and they are innumerable in the Middle Ages, sufficiently explain the successive phases of meaning through which 'villain' has passed :

Quando mulcetur villanus, pejor habetur :
Ungentem pungit, pungentem rusticus ungit.

[2] See my *Study of Words*, 17th edit. p. 132.

gress in 'churl,' 'clown,' 'antic,' and in numerous other words. The intrusive meaning might be likened in all these cases to the egg which the cuckoo lays in the sparrow's nest; the young cuckoo first sharing the nest with its rightful occupants, but not resting till it has dislodged and ousted them altogether.

I will illustrate by the aid of one word more this part of my subject. I called your attention in my last lecture to the true character of several words and forms in use among our country people, and claimed for them to be in many instances genuine English, although English now more or less antiquated and overlived. 'Gossip' is a word in point. This name is given by our Hampshire peasantry to the sponsors in baptism, the godfathers and godmothers. We have here a perfectly correct employment of 'gossip,' in fact its proper and original use involving moreover a very curious record of past beliefs. 'Gossip' or 'gossib,' as Chaucer spelt it, is a compound word, made up of the name of 'God,' and of an old English word, 'sib,' still alive in Scotland, as all readers of Walter Scott will remember, and in Northern parts of England, and which means, akin; they being 'sib' who are related to one another. But why, you may ask, was the name given to sponsors? Out of this reason;—in the Middle Ages it was the prevailing belief (and the Roman Catholic Church affirms it still), that those who stood as sponsors to the same child, besides contracting spiritual obligations on behalf of that child, also contracted spiritual affinity one with another; they became *sib*, or akin, in *God*, and thus 'gossips;' hence 'gossipred,' an old word, exactly analogous to 'kindred.' Upon these grounds

the Roman Catholic Church will not allow (unless by dispensation) those who have stood as sponsors to the same child, afterwards to contract marriage with one another, affirming them too nearly related for this to be lawful.

Take 'gossip,' however, in its ordinary present use, as one addicted to idle tittle-tattle, and it seems to bear no relation whatever to its etymology and first meaning. The same three steps, however, which we have traced before will bring us to its present use. 'Gossips' are, first, the sponsors, brought by the act of a common sponsorship into affinity and near familiarity with one another; secondly, these sponsors, who, being thus brought together, allow themselves with one another in familiar, and then in trivial and idle, talk; thirdly, they are any who allow themselves in this trivial and idle talk,—called in French 'commérage,' from the fact that 'commère' has run through exactly the same stages as its English equivalent.

It is plain that words which designate not things and persons only, but these as they are contemplated more or less in an ethical light, words tinged with a moral sentiment, are peculiarly exposed to change; are constantly liable to take a new colouring, or to lose an old. The gauge and measure of praise or blame, honour or dishonour, admiration or abhorrence which they imply, is so purely a mental and subjective one, that it is most difficult to take accurate note of its rise or of its fall, while yet there are causes continually at work to bring about the one or the other. There are words not a few, ethical words above all, which have so imperceptibly drifted away

from their former moorings, that although their position is now very different from that which they once occupied, scarcely one in a hundred of casual readers, whose attention has not been specially called to the subject, will have observed that they have moved at all. Here too we observe some words conveying less of praise or blame than once, and some more ; while some have wholly shifted from the one to the other. Some were at one time words of slight, almost of offence, which have altogether ceased to be so now. Still these are rare by comparison with those which once were harmless, but now are harmless no more ; which once, it may be, were terms of honour, but which now imply a slight, or even a scorn. It is only too easy to explain why the latter should prove in number to exceed.

Let us take an example. To speak now of royal children as 'royal *imps*,' would sound, and according to our present usage would be, impertinent ; and yet 'imp' was once a name of dignity and honour, and not of slight or of undue familiarity. Thus Spenser addresses the Muses,

> 'Ye sacred *imps* that on Parnasso dwell ;'

and 'imp' was especially used of the scions of royal or illustrious houses. More than one epitaph, still existing, of our ancient nobility might be quoted, beginning in such language as this, 'Here lies that noble *imp*.' Call a person 'pragmatical,' and you now imply not merely that he is busy, but *over*-busy, officious, self-important and pompous to boot. But it once meant nothing of the kind, and a man 'pragmatical' (like πραγματικός) was one engaged in affairs,

and the title an honourable one, given to a man simply and industriously accomplishing the business which properly concerned him.[1] So too to say that a person 'meddles' or is a 'meddler' implies now that he interferes unduly in other men's matters, without a call mixing himself up with these. But 'to meddle' and 'meddler' did not always suggest or insinuate anything of the kind. On the contrary, three of our earlier translations of the Bible have, '*Meddle* with your own business' (1 Thess. iv. 11); and Barrow in one of his sermons draws at some length the distinction between 'meddling' and 'being *meddlesome*,' and only condemns the latter. Or take the words, 'to prose' or a 'proser.' It cannot indeed be affirmed that they involve any *moral* condemnation, yet they certainly convey no compliment at the present, being almost among the last epithets which any one would desire to be applied to his talking or his writing. 'To prose,' as we all now know too well, is to talk or write heavily and tediously, without spirit or animation; but once it was simply the antithesis of to versify, and a 'proser' the antithesis of a versifier or a poet. It will follow that the most rapid and liveliest writer who ever wrote, if he did not write in verse would have 'prosed' and been a 'proser,' in the language of our ancestors. Thus Drayton writes of his contemporary Nashe:

> 'And surely Nashe, though he a *proser* were,
> A branch of laurel yet deserves to bear,'

[1] 'We cannot always be contemplative, or *pragmatical* abroad: but have need of some delightful intermissions, wherein the enlarged soul may leave off awhile her severe schooling' (Milton, *Tetrachordon*).

that is, the ornament not of a 'proser' but of a poet. The tacit assumption that vigour, animation, rapid movement, with all the precipitation of the spirit, belong to verse rather than to prose, are to be found exclusively in it, must explain the changed uses of the word.

Still it is according to a word's present signification that we must employ it now. It would be no excuse, having applied an insulting epithet to any, if we should afterwards plead that, tried by its etymology and primary usage, it had nothing offensive or insulting about it; although indeed Swift assures us that in his time such a plea was made and was allowed. 'I remember,' he says, 'at a trial in Kent, where Sir George Rooke was indicted for calling a gentleman "knave" and "villain," the lawyer for the defendant brought off his client by alleging that the words were not injurious; for "knave" in the old and true signification imported only a servant; and "villain" in Latin is villicus, which is no more than a man employed in country labour, or rather a baily.' The lawyer may have deserved his success for the ingenuity and boldness of his plea; though, if Swift reports him aright, scarcely on the ground of the strict accuracy either of his Early English or his Latin.

The moral sense and conviction of men is often at work upon their words, giving them new turns in obedience to these convictions, of which their changed use will remain a permanent record. The history of 'sycophant' will illustrate this. You probably are acquainted with the story which the Greek scholiasts invented by way of explaining a word of whose history they knew nothing,—namely, that the 'sycophant'

was a 'manifester of figs,' one who detected and denounced others in the act of exporting figs from Attica, an act forbidden, they asserted, by the Athenian law; and accused such to the people. Be this explanation worth what it may, the word obtained in Greek a more general sense; any accuser, and then any *false* accuser, was a 'sycophant;' and when the word was first adopted into English, it was in this meaning: thus an old poet speaks of 'the railing route of *sycophants*;' and Holland: 'the poor man that hath nought to lose, is not afraid of the *sycophant*.' But it has not kept this meaning; a 'sycophant' is now a fawning flatterer; not one who speaks ill of you behind your back; but rather one who speaks good of you before your face, but good which he does not in his heart believe. Yet how true a moral instinct has presided over this changed signification. The calumniator and the flatterer, although they seem so opposed to one another, how closely united they really are. They grow out of the same root. The same baseness of spirit which shall lead one to speak evil of you behind your back, will lead him to fawn on you and flatter you before your face. There is a profound sense in that Italian proverb, 'Who flatters me before, spatters me behind.'

But it is not the moral sense only of men which is thus at work, modifying their words; the immoral does the same. If the good which men have and feel, penetrates into their speech, and leaves its deposit there, so does also the evil. Thus we may trace a constant tendency—in too many cases it has been a successful one—to empty words employed in the condemnation of evil, of the depth and earnestness of the moral

reprobation which they once conveyed. Men's too easy toleration of sin, the feebleness of their moral indignation against it, brings this about, namely, that the blame which words expressed once, has in some of them become much weaker now than once, from others has vanished altogether. 'To do a *shrewd* turn,' was once to do a *wicked* turn; Chaucer employs 'shrewdness' to render the Latin 'improbitas;' nay, two murderers he calls two 'shrews,'—for there were, as has been already noticed, male 'shrews' once as well as female. But 'a *shrewd* turn' now, while it implies a certain amount of sharp practice, yet implies nothing more; and 'shrewdness' is applied to men rather in their praise than in their dispraise. And not these only, but a multitude of other words,—I will only instance 'flirt,' 'loiterer,' 'luxury,' 'luxurious,' 'peevish,' 'prank,' 'uncivil,' 'wayward,'—involved once a much more earnest moral disapprobation than they do at this present.

But I must bring this lecture to a close. I have but opened to you paths, which you, if you are so minded, can follow up for yourselves. We have learned lately to speak of men's 'antecedents;' the phrase is newly come up; and it is common to say that if we would know what a man really now is, we must know his 'antecedents,' that is, what he has been and what he has done in time past. This is quite as true about words. If we would know what they now are, we must know what they have been; we must know, if possible, the date and place of their birth, the successive stages of their subsequent history, the company which they have kept, all the road which they have travelled, and what has brought them to the

point at which now we find them ; we must know, in short, their antecedents.

And let me say, without attempting to bring back school into these lectures which are out of school, that, seeking to do this, we might add an interest to our researches in the lexicon and the dictionary which otherwise they could never have ; that taking such words, for example, as ἐκκλησία,[1] or παλιγγενεσία,[1] or εὐτραπελία,[1] or σοφιστής, or σχολαστικός, in Greek; as 'religio,' or 'sacramentum,' or 'imperator,'[2] or 'urbanitas,' or 'superstitio,' in Latin ; as 'casuistry,' or 'good-nature,' or 'humorous,' or 'danger,' or 'romantic,' in English, and endeavouring to trace the manner in which one meaning grew out of and superseded another, and how they arrived at that use in which they have finally rested (if indeed before some of these words there be not a future of movement still), we shall derive, I believe, amusement, I am sure, instruction ; we shall feel that we are really getting something, increasing the moral and intellectual stores of our minds ; furnishing ourselves with that which hereafter may be of service to ourselves, may be of service to others—than which there can be no feeling more delightful.[3]

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[1] See my *Synonyms of the New Testament*, s. vv.

[2] See Merivale, *History of the Romans*, vol. iii. p. 440 sqq.

[3] For a fuller treatment of the subject of this lecture, see my *Select Glossary*, 5th edit., 1879.

LECTURE VIII.

CHANGES IN THE SPELLING OF ENGLISH WORDS.

THE subject of my lecture to-day will be English spelling, and it will be mainly taken up with notices of some changes which this has undergone. You may think perhaps that a weightier, or at all events a more interesting, subject might have claimed our attention. But it is indeed a subject wanting neither in importance nor in interest. Unimportant it is not, having often engaged the attention of the foremost scholars among us. Uninteresting it may be, through faults in the manner of its treatment; but would never prove so in competent hands.[1] Let me hope that even in mine it may yield some pleasure and profit.

It was Hobbes who said, 'The invention of printing, though ingenious, compared with the invention of letters, is no great matter.' Use and familiarity had not obliterated for him the wonder of that at which we probably long ago have ceased to wonder, if indeed the marvel of it ever presented itself to our minds at all—the power, namely, of representing sounds by

[1] Let me refer, in proof, to a paper, *On Orthographical Expedients*, by Edwin Guest, Esq., in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, vol. iii. p. 1.

written signs, of reproducing for the eye what before existed only for the ear. Nor was the estimate which he formed of the relative value of these two inventions other than a just one. Writing stands more nearly on a level with speaking, and deserves better to be compared with it, than with printing; which last, with all its utility, is yet of quite another and inferior type of greatness. Or, if this be too much to claim for writing, it may at all events be affirmed to stand midway between the other two, and to be as much superior to the one as it is inferior to the other.

The intention of the written word, the end whereto it is a mean, is by aid of signs agreed on beforehand, to represent to the eye with as much accuracy as possible the spoken word. This intention, however, it never fulfils completely. There is always a chasm between these two, and much continually going forward in a language to render this chasm ever wider and wider. Short as man's spoken word often falls of his unspoken, that is, of his thought, his written word falls often as short of his spoken. Several causes contribute to this. In the first place, the marks of imperfection and infirmity cleave to writing, as to every other invention of man. It fares with most alphabets as with our own. They have superfluous letters,—letters, that is, which they do not want, because others already represent their sound; thus 'q' in English is perfectly useless; 'c' 'k' and 's' have only two sounds among them. They have dubious letters, such, that is, as say nothing certain about the sounds they stand for, because more than one sound is represented by them, our own 'a' for

example. They are deficient in letters, that is, the language has elementary sounds such as our own 'th' which have no corresponding letters appropriated to them, and can only be represented by combinations of letters. This then, being, as one called it long ago, 'an appendix to the curse of Babel,' is one reason of the imperfect reproduction of the spoken word by the written. But another is, that the human voice is so wonderfully fine and flexible an organ, is able to mark such subtle and delicate distinctions of sound, so infinitely to modify and vary these sounds, that were an alphabet complete as human art could make it, did it possess twice as many letters as our own possesses, —the Sanscrit, which has fifty, very nearly does so,— there would still remain a multitude of sounds which it could only approximately give back.

But there is a further cause for the divergence which little by little becomes apparent between men's spoken word and their written. What men do often, they will seek to do with the least possible exertion. There is nothing which they do oftener than utter words. They will endeavour then here to save themselves pains; they will contract two or more syllables into one; 'vuestra merced' will become 'usted;' and 'topside the other way,' 'topsy-turvy;'[1] or draw two or three syllables together, 'itiner' will become 'iter,' 'hafoc' 'hawk,' 'cyning' 'king,' and 'almesse' 'alms;' they will assimilate consonants, 'subfero' will become 'suffero,' 'adfiance' will become 'affiance;' they will slur over, and thus after a while cease to pronounce, certain letters, especially at the close of

[1] See *Stanihurst's Ireland*, p. 33 in Holinshed's *Chronicles*.

words, where the speaking effort has in a manner exhausted itself; 'Shâh' 'is what remains of Khshâyathina, the name for king in the cuneiform inscriptions;'[1] for hard letters they will substitute soft; for those which require a certain effort to pronounce, they will substitute others which require little or almost none.[2] Under the operation of these causes a chasm between the written and spoken word will not only exist, but will have the tendency to grow ever of a wider reach. This tendency indeed will be partially traversed by approximations which from time to time will by silent consent be made of the written word to the spoken; absolutely superfluous letters will be got rid of; as the final 'k' in 'civic,' 'politic,' and such

[1] Max Müller.

[2] Schleicher (*Die Deutsche Sprache*, p. 49): Alle Veränderung der Laute, die im Verlaufe des sprachlichen Lebens eintritt, ist zunächst und unmittelbar Folge des Strebens, unseren Sprachorganen die Sache leicht zu machen. Bequemlichkeit der Aussprache, Ersparung an Muskelthätigkeit ist das hier wirkende Agens. Who does not feel, for instance, how much the *mêteres* of Greek, with its thrice recurring 'e,' has gained in facility of being spoken over the earlier *mâtaras*, with its thrice recurring 'a,' of the Sanskrit? Ampère (*Formation de la Langue Française*) describes well the forces, and this among the rest, which are ever at work for the final destruction of a language: Les mots, en vieillissant, tendent à remplacer les consonnes fortes et dures par des consonnes faibles et douces, les voyelles sonores, d'abord par des voyelles sourdes, puis par des voyelles muettes. Les sons pleins s'éteignent peu à peu et se perdent. Les finales disparaissent et les mots se contractent. Par suite, les langues deviennent moins mélodieuses; les mots qui charmaient et remplissaient l'oreille n'offrent plus qu'un signe mnémonique, et comme un chiffre. Les langues en général commencent par être une musique, et finissent par être une algèbre.

like words ; the 'Engleneloande' of Henry the Third's famous proclamation (1258) will become the 'England' which we now write, seven letters instead of thirteen ; here and there a letter dropped in speech will be dropped also in writing, as the 's' in so many French words, where its absence is marked by a circumflex ; a new shape, contracted or briefer, which a word has taken on the lips of men, will find its representation in their writing ; as 'chirurgeon' will not merely be pronounced, but also spelt, 'surgeon ;' 'squinancy' 'quinsey ;' 'Ecgbrihtes-Stân' will be 'Brixton ;' 'Eoforwic,' or 'Euerwic,' 'York ;' 'Botolphstown' 'Boston ;'[1] while St. 'Æthelthryth,' patroness of Ely, will be written, as well as pronounced, St. 'Audre ;' 'Ligoraceaster' will be 'Leicester,' as it is now, and 'Lester,' as no doubt it will be before long. Still, notwithstanding these partial readjustments of the relations between the two, the anomalies will be infinite ; there will be a multitude of written letters which have ceased to be sounded letters ; words not a few will exist in one shape upon our lips, and in quite another in our books. Sometimes, as in such proper names as 'Beauchamp' and 'Belvoir,' even the pretence of an agreement between the written word and the spoken will have been abandoned.

It is inevitable that the question should arise—Shall these anomalies be meddled with? shall the attempt be made to remove them, and to bring writing and speech into harmony and consent—a harmony

[1] In like manner in modern Greek, εἰς Νικαίαν will issue in Isnik, just as εἰς τὴν πόλιν in Istamboul.

and consent which never indeed in actual fact at any period of the language existed, but which yet may be regarded as the object of written speech, as the idea which, however imperfectly realized, has, in the reduction of spoken sounds to written, floated before the minds of men? If the attempt is to be made, it is clear that it can only be made in one way. There is not the alternative here, that either Mahomet shall go to the mountain, *or* the mountain to Mahomet. The spoken word is the mountain; it will not stir; it will resist all attempts to move it. Conscious of superior rights, that it existed the first, that it is, so to say, the elder brother, it will never consent to become different from what it has been, that so it may more closely conform and comply with the written word. Men will not be persuaded to pronounce 'wou*l*d' and 'shou*l*d,' because they write these words with an 'l': but what if they could be induced to write 'woud' and 'shoud,' because they so pronounce; and to adopt the same course wherever a discrepancy exists between the word as spoken, and as written? Might not the gulf between the two be in this way made to disappear?

In what has been just said we have the explanation of that which in the history of almost all literatures has repeated itself more than once, namely, the endeavour to introduce phonetic spelling. It has certain plausibilities to rest on; it appeals to the unquestionable fact that the written word was intended to picture to the eye what the spoken word sounded in the ear. For all this I believe that it would be impossible to introduce it; and, even if possible, that it would be most undesirable, and this for two reasons: the first being that

the losses consequent upon its introduction would far outweigh the gains, even supposing those gains as large as the advocates of the scheme promise; the second, that these promised gains would themselves be only very partially realized, if at all.

I believe it to be impossible. It is clear that such a scheme must begin with the reconstruction of the alphabet. The first thing that the phonographers have perceived is the necessity for the creation of a vast number of new signs, the poverty of all existing alphabets, at any rate of our own, not yielding a several sign for all the several sounds in the language. Hereupon our phonographers of thirty years back invented ten of these new signs or letters, which were henceforth to take their place with our 'a, b, c,' and to enjoy equal rights with them. Rejecting two ('q,' 'x'), and adding ten, they raised their alphabet from twenty-six letters to thirty-four. But to procure the reception of such a reconstructed alphabet is simply an impossibility, as much an impossibility as would be the reconstruction of the language in any points where it was manifestly deficient or illogical. Sciolists or scholars may sit down in their studies, and devise these new letters, and prove that we need them, and that the introduction of them would be a manifest gain; and this may be all very true: but if they imagine that they can persuade a people to adopt them, they know little of the extent to which its alphabet is entwined with the whole innermost life of a people.[1] One may freely own that most present

[1] Of course it is quite a different thing when philologers, for their own special purposes, endeavour to construct an alphabet

alphabets are redundant here, are deficient there; our English is as greatly at fault as any, perhaps is the most faulty of all,[1] and with that we have chiefly to do. Unquestionably it has more letters than one to express one and the same sound; it has only one letter to express two or three sounds; it has sounds which are only capable of being expressed at all by awkward and roundabout expedients. Yet at the same time we must accept the fact, as we accept any other which it is out of our power to change—with regret indeed, but with a perfect acquiescence: as one accepts the fact that Ireland is not some thirty or forty miles nearer to England—that it is so difficult to get round Cape Horn—that the climate of Africa is so fatal to European life. A people will no more quit their alphabet than they will quit their language, they will no more consent to modify the one at a command from without than the other. Cæsar avowed that with all his power he could not introduce a new word, and certainly Claudius could not introduce a new letter. Centuries may bring about and sanction the introduction of a new one, or the dropping of an old. But to imagine that it is possible suddenly to introduce

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which shall cover all sounds of human speech, and shall enable them to communicate to one another in all parts of the world what is the true pronunciation, or what they believe to be true pronunciation, of the words with which they are dealing. But alphabets like these are purely scientific, and must remain such. A single fact will sufficiently prove this. The *Standard Alphabet* of the German scholar Lepsius, intended, it is true, to furnish written equivalents for sounds, not of one human speech, but of all, has two hundred and eighty-six signs, every one of them having a distinct phonetic value.

[1] See Latham, *Defence of Phonetic Spelling*, passim.

a group of ten new letters, as these reformers suggested[1] —they might just as feasibly propose that the English language should form its comparatives and superlatives on some entirely new scheme, say in Greek fashion, by the terminations 'oteros' and 'otatos;' or that we should agree to set up a dual; or that our substantives should return to their Anglo-Saxon declensions. Languages are not made, they grow; and alphabets are something more than mere mechanical devices, the conscious work of men's art. A very moderate acquaintance with the eternal laws which regulate human speech, and of the limits within which deliberate action upon it is possible, should bring home to us the hopelessness of the attempt to add to our alphabet ten entirely novel signs.[2]

But grant it possible, grant our six and twenty letters to have so little sacredness in them that Englishmen would endure a crowd of upstart interlopers to mix themselves on an equal footing with them, still this could only come to pass from a sense of the great-

[1] These must, in some sense, be not ten, but forty; for in each case there must be a capital letter and a smaller, a letter for printing and a letter for writing.

[2] This is indeed a very moderate statement of the facts of the case. At a Conference of Spelling Reformers held in London in May, 1877, a communication from Lord Sherbrooke, approving the work in which they were engaged, was read. 'There are,' he says, 'thirty-nine sounds in the English language. There are twenty-four letters. I think that each letter should represent one sound, that fifteen new letters should be added, so that there should be a letter for every sound.' The Bishop of Exeter, with a truer estimate, as it seems to me, of what can be done and what cannot, writes to the same Conference, 'It is essential to have no new letters, and only a few critical marks.'

ness of the advantage to be derived from this introduction. Now the vast advantage claimed by the advocates of the system is, that it would facilitate the learning to read, and wholly save the labour of learning to spell, which 'on the present plan occupies,' as they assure us, 'at the very lowest calculation from three to five years.' 'Count,' says Professor Marsh, 'the hours spent through life in keeping up and perfecting this knowledge of spelling, in consulting dictionaries, a work that never ends, the hours which each man spends in writing silent letters, and multiply this time by the number of persons who speak English; and we shall have a total of millions of years wasted by each generation.'[1] Spelling, it is urged, would no longer need to be learned at all; since whoever knew the sound would necessarily know also the spelling, these being in all cases in perfect conformity with one another. The anticipation of this gain rests upon two assumptions which are tacitly regarded as lifted above all doubt, but both of them erroneous.

The first of these assumptions is, that all men pronounce all words alike, and thus that, whenever they come to spell a word, they will exactly agree as to what the sound, in letters to be expressed, is. But this is not so, as is clear from the fact that, before there was any fixed and settled orthography in our language, when, therefore, everybody was more or less a phonographer, a writer down of words as they sounded *to him* (for he had no other law to guide him), the variations of spelling were infinite. Take, for instance, the word 'sudden,' which does not seem to promise

[1] *Address before the American Philological Association*, p. 6.

any great scope for variety. I have myself met with this word spelt in the following sixteen ways among our early writers: 'sodain,' 'sodaine,' 'sodan,' 'sodane,' 'sodayne,' 'sodden,' 'sodein,' 'sodeine,' 'soden,' 'sodeyn,' 'suddain,' 'suddaine,' 'suddein,' 'suddeine,' 'sudden,' 'sudeyn.' There have been collected twenty-eight ways of spelling Wiclif's name.[1] Shakespeare's too is spelt in ways I know not how many; and Raleigh's in hardly fewer. The same fact is evident from the spelling of uneducated persons in our own day. They have no other rule but the sound to guide them. How is it that they do not all spell alike; erroneously, it may be, as having only the sound for their guide, but still falling all into exactly the same errors? What is the actual fact? They not merely spell wrongly, which might be laid to the charge of our perverse system of spelling, but with an inexhaustible diversity of error, and that too in the case of simplest words. Thus the town of Woburn would seem to offer small room for caprice in spelling, while yet the postmaster there has made, from the superscriptions of letters that have passed through his hands, a collection of two hundred and forty-four various ways in which the place has been spelt.[2] It may be replied that these were all or nearly all collected from the letters of the ignorant and uneducated. Exactly so;—but it is for their sakes, and to place them on a

[1] Lechler, *Wiclif und die Reformation*, vol. i. p. 268.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, No. 147. Compared with this, the notice of the German Consul at Ipswich (1876), that he has made a list of fifty-seven ways in which 'Ipswich' has been spelt in letters addressed to him, is hardly worth mentioning.

level with the educated, or rather to accelerate the process of their education by the omission of a discipline as troublesome as it is useless, that the change is proposed. I wish to show you that after the change they would be just as much, or almost as much, at a loss in their spelling as now.

For another reason it would be quite as necessary then to learn orthography as now. Pronunciation, as I have already noticed, is oftentimes far too subtle a thing to be more than approximated to and indicated by the written letter. Different persons would attempt by different methods to overcome the difficulties which the reproduction of it for the eye presented, and thus different spellings would arise; or, if not so, one must be arbitrarily selected, and would have need to be learned, just as much as spelling at present has need to be learned. I will only ask you, in proof of this which I affirm, to turn to any *Pronouncing Dictionary*. When you mark the elaborate and yet ineffectual artifices by which it toils after the finer distinctions of articulation, seeks to reproduce in letters what exists, and can only exist, as the spoken tradition of pronunciation, acquired from lip to lip by the organ of the ear, capable of being learned, but incapable of being taught; or when you compare two of these Dictionaries with one another, and note the entirely different schemes and combinations of letters which they employ for representing the same sound to the eye; you will then perceive how futile the attempt to make the written in language commensurate with the sounded; you will own that not merely out of human caprice, ignorance, or indolence, the former falls short of and differs from the latter; but that this lies in

the necessity of things, in the fact that man's *voice* can effect so much more than ever his *letter* can.[1] You will then perceive that there would be as much, or nearly as much, of arbitrary in spelling which calls itself phonetic as there is in our present. We should be as little able to dismiss the spelling card then as now. But to what extent English writing would be transformed—whether for the better or the worse each may judge for himself—a single specimen will prove. Take as the first sample which comes to my hand these four lines of Pope, which hitherto we have thus spelt and read,

> 'But errs not nature from this gracious end,
> From burning suns when livid deaths descend,
> When earthquakes swallow, or when tempests sweep
> Towns to one grave, whole nations to the deep?'

Phonetically written, they present themselves to us in the following fashion:

> 'Bʊt ʕ erz not nɛtiur from đis grɛcʊs end,
> from bʊrniŋ sʊnz when livid deƀs dɹsend,
> when erƀkwɛks swolɵ, or when tempests swɹp
> toʊnz tʊ wʊn grɛv, hɵl nɛcons tʊ đe dɹp.'

This however is but a mild specimen of the transformation which our written language will undergo. I take the following from one of the ablest defences of phonetic spelling which has appeared:

Ser Bulwer Liton sez:—'A mɵr lj̨iŋ, pɤzel-heded deluʒon đan đát bj̨ whiɕ wɹ konfɥz đe klɹr instiŋkts ov truđ in our akɤrsed

[1] See Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, Croker's edit. 1848, p. 233. Adelung tells us that the word or letters 'ardzhyz' represent our manner of pronouncing 'orgies.'

sistem ov speliŋ woz never konkokted bį đe fađer ov fɷlshud. Hou kan a sistem ov edųkɛʃon flɤriʃ đat beginz bį sơ monstrɤs a fɷlshud, whiç đe sens ov hirinŋ sɤfįsez tu kontradikt?'

The scheme then would not fulfil its promises. The gains which it vaunts, when we come to look closely at them, disappear. And now for the losses. There are in every language a vast number of words, which the ear does not distinguish from one another, but which are at once distinguishable to the eye by the spelling. I will only instance a few which are the same parts of speech; thus 'sun' and 'son;' 'virge' ('virga,' now obsolete) and 'verge;' 'reign,' 'rain,' and 'rein;' 'hair' and 'hare;' 'plate' and 'plait;' 'moat' and 'mote;' 'pear' and 'pair;' 'pain' and 'pane;' 'raise' and 'raze;' 'air' and 'heir;' 'ark' and 'arc;' 'mite' and 'might;' 'pour' and 'pore;' 'tail' and 'tale;' 'veil' and 'vale;' 'knight' and 'night;' 'knave' and 'nave;' 'pier' and 'peer;' 'rite' and 'right;' 'site' and 'sight;' 'aisle' and 'isle;' 'concent' and 'consent;' 'signet' and 'cygnet.' Now, of course, it is a real disadvantage, and may be the cause of serious confusion, that there should be words in our spoken language of entirely different origin and meaning, which yet cannot in sound be differenced from one another. The phonographers simply propose to extend this disadvantage already cleaving to our spoken, to the written language as well. It is fault enough in the French language that 'mère' a mother, 'mer' the sea, 'maire' a mayor of a town should have no perceptible difference between then in the spoken tongue; or again that there should be nothing to distinguish 'sans,' 'sang,' 'sent,' 'sens,' 's'en,' 'cent;' and as little 'ver,' 'vert,' 'verre' and

'vers.' Surely it is not very wise to propose gratuitously to extend the same imperfection to the written language as well.

This loss in so many instances of the power to discriminate between words which, however liable to confusion now in our spoken language, are liable to none in our written, would be serious enough; but more serious still would be the loss which would constantly ensue, of all which visibly connects a word with the past, which tells its history, and indicates the quarter from which it has been derived. In how many English words a letter silent to the ear is yet most eloquent to the eye—the 'g' for instance in 'deign,' 'reign,' 'impugn,' telling as it does of 'dignor,' 'regno,' 'impugno;' even as the 'b' in 'debt,' 'doubt,' is not idle, but tells of 'debitum' and 'dubium.'

It is urged, indeed, as an answer to this, that the scholar does not need these indications to help him to the pedigree of the words with which he deals, that the ignorant is not helped by them; that the one knows without, and that the other does not know with them; so that in either case they are profitable for nothing; the one standing above, and the other below, the possibility of learning anything from the spelling. But do these two classes make up the whole of mankind? Are there not a multitude of persons, neither accomplished and highly trained scholars on the one side, nor yet wholly without acquaintance with other languages beside their own on the other? For myself, I cannot doubt that there is much which these can gain and do gain by the aid of the very modest philological acquirements which are all that they can boast;

of a large part whereof they would thus be deprived. It does not require more than fourth form Greek to know that by 'syntax' is meant the orderly marshalling of words in their relation to one another. But is not the word more for many when they know this than it would otherwise have been; while yet is it likely they would have known it, if 'sintacs,' and not 'syntax,' had been the form in which the word had always presented itself to their eye?

At present it is the written word which in all languages constitutes their conservative element. In it is the abiding witness against the mutilations or other capricious changes in shape which affectation, folly, laziness, ignorance, and half-knowledge would introduce. Not seldom it proves unable to hinder the final adoption of these corrupter forms; but it does not fail to oppose to them a constant, and often a successful, resistance. In this way, for example, the 'cocodrill' of our middle English has given place to the 'crocodile' of our later. With the adoption of phonetic spelling, this witness would exist no longer. Whatever was spoken would have also to be written, were it never so barbarous, never so wide a departure from the true form of the word; the jargon of the lowest of the people would be stereotyped as the model and pattern of speech.[1] Nor is it merely probable that such a barbarizing process, such an adopting and sanctioning of a vulgarism, might take place, but among phonographers it has taken place already.

[1] See *Notes on some English Heterographers*, by H. B. Wheatley, in the Philological Society's *Transactions*, 1865, pp. 13–59; an exhaustive account of the efforts of English phonographers up to the date of his writing.

There is a vulgar pronunciation of the word 'Eu*rope*,' as though it were 'Eu*rup*.' Now it is quite possible that a larger number of persons in England may pronounce the word in this manner than in the right; and therefore the phonographers are only true to their principles when they spell it 'Eurup,' or, indeed, omitting the first letter, 'Urup,' the life of the first syllable being assailed no less than that of the second. What are the consequences? First, all connection with the old mythology is entirely broken off; secondly, its most probable etymology from two Greek words, signifying 'broad' and 'face,'—Europe being so called from the *broad* line or *face* of coast which it presented to the Asiatic Greek,—is totally obscured.[1] But so far from the spelling servilely following the pronunciation, I should be bold to affirm that if ninety-nine out of every hundred persons in England chose to call Europe 'Urup,' this would be a vulgarism still, against which the written word ought to maintain its protest, not lowering itself to their level, but rather seeking to elevate them to its own.[2]

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[1] Ampère has well said, 'Effacer les signes étymologiques d'une langue, c'est effacer ses titres généalogiques et gratter son écusson.

[2] Quintilian has expressed himself with the true dignity of a scholar on this matter (*Inst.* I. 6. 45): Consuetudinem sermonis vocabo *consensum eruditorum*; sicut vivendi consensum bonorum. —How different from innovations like this the changes in German spelling which J. Grimm, so far as his own example may reach, *has* introduced; and the still bolder which in the *Preface* to his *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, pp. liv–lxii, he avows his desire to see introduced:—as the employment of *f*, not merely where at present used, but wherever *v* is now employed; the substituting of the *v*, which would be thus disengaged, for *w*,

Then, too, if there is much in orthography which is unsettled now, how much more would be unsettled then! Inasmuch as the pronunciation of words is continually altering, their spelling would of course have continually to alter too. What I here assert, namely, that pronunciation is undergoing constant changes, although changes for the most part unmarked, or marked only by a few, it would be abundantly easy to prove.[1] Take a *Pronouncing Dictionary* of fifty or a hundred years ago; in almost every page you will meet schemes of pronunciation recommended which are now merely vulgarisms, or which have been dropped altogether. We gather from a discussion in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*,[2] that in his time 'great' was by some of the best speakers of the language pronounced 'gr*ee*t,' not 'gr*a*te:' Pope usually rhymes it with 'cheat,' 'complete,' and the like; thus in the *Dunciad*:

> 'Here swells the shelf with Ogilby the *great*,
> There, stamped with arms, Newcastle stands com*plete*;'

while Spenser's constant use, a century and a half earlier, leaves no doubt that such was the established pronunciation of his time. Again, Pope rhymes 'obliged' with 'besieged;' and it has only ceased to be 'obl*ee*ged' almost in our own time. 'Key' in our

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and the entire dismissal of *w*. These may be advisable, or they may not; it is not for strangers to offer an opinion; but at any rate they all rest on a deep historic study of the language, and of its true genius; and are not a seeking to give permanent authority to the fleeting accidents of the present hour.

[1] Consuetudo loquendi in motu est, as Varro said long ago.

[2] Croker's edit., 1848, pp. 57, 61, 233.

Elizabethan literature always rhymes with such words as 'survey' (Shakespeare, *Sonnets*). Who now drinks a cup of 'tay'? yet it is certain that this was the fashionable pronunciation in the first half of the last century. This couplet of Pope's is one proof out of many:

> 'Here thou, great Anna, whom three realms *obey*,
> Dost sometimes counsel take, and sometimes *tea*.

Rhyme is a great assistance to the detecting of changes like these, which but for the help that it affords we should fail to detect; which indeed we should often have no means of detecting; which not seldom we should not suspect in the least. Thus, if it were not for these lines of Dryden,

> 'Better to hunt the fields for health unbought,
> Than fee the doctor for a nauseous draught,'

we should not at all suspect 'draught' to have been pronounced as thus we learn that it was. So too when 'should' rhymes with 'cooled' (Shakespeare), with 'hold' (Daniel), with 'cold' (Ben Jonson), 'would' with 'bold' (Ford), with 'mould' (Chapman), with 'old' (Fletcher), and 'could,' for so by a false analogy men had come to spell it, with 'gold' (Ben Jonson), it is plain that our 'shou'd,' 'wou'd,' 'cou'd,' had not yet established themselves in the language. And how little our words ending in 'ough' are pronounced now as they were once we gather from the fact that Golding in his translation of *Ovid's Metamorphoses* rhymes 'tough' and 'through,' 'trough' and 'through,' 'rough' and 'plough.'[1] Or a play

[1] In Levin's *Manipulus Vocabulorum* 'bough,' 'chough,' 'cough,' 'plough,' 'slough,' 'trough,' 'through,' 'rough,'

on words may inform us how the case once stood. Thus there would be no point in the complaint of Cassius,[1] that in all *Rome* there was *room* but for a single man,

'Now is it *Rome* indeed, and *room* enough,'

if Rome had not been pronounced in Shakespeare's time, as some few pronounce it still, as I believe John Kemble pronounced it to the last, but as the educated classes of society have now consented not to pronounce it any more. Samuel Rogers assures us that in his youth 'everybody said "Lonnon," not "London;" that Fox said "Lonnon" to the last.'[2]

Swift long ago urged the same objection against the phonographers of his time: 'Another cause which has contributed not a little to the maiming of our language, is a foolish opinion advanced of late years that we ought to spell exactly as we speak: which, besides the obvious inconvenience of utterly destroying our etymology, would be a thing we should never see an end of. Not only the several towns and counties of England have a different way of pronouncing, but even here in London they clip their words after one manner about the court, another in the city, and a third in the suburbs; and in a few years, it is

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'tough,' are all arranged together, the book grouping words, though it must be owned rather carelessly, according to similar terminations.

[1] *Julius Cæsar*, act i. sc. 2; and compare *King John*, act iii. sc. 1.

[2] The whole subject has been exhaustively dealt with by Mr. Ellis, in his great work *On Early English Pronunciation*, 1869.

probable, will all differ from themselves, as fancy or fashion shall direct; all which, reduced to writing, would entirely confound orthography.'[1]

Let this much suffice by way of answer to those who would fain revolutionize our English orthography altogether. Dismissing them and their innovations, which only do not fill with alarm because one has so fixed a conviction that they will never force their way into our written English, let me call your attention now to those changes in spelling which are constantly going forward, at some periods more rapidly than at others, but which never wholly cease; while at the same time I endeavour to trace, where this is possible, the motives and inducements which bring these changes about. It is a subject which none can neglect, who desire to obtain an accurate acquaintance with their native tongue. Some principles have been laid down in the course of what has been said already that may help us to judge whether these changes are for better or for worse. We shall find, if I mistake not, of both kinds.

[1] *A Proposal for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English Tongue*, 1711, *Works*, vol. ix. pp. 139–159. That the Spelling Reformers should have recently obtained some words of encouragement from Professor Max Müller is an immense piece of good fortune, which they had little right to expect. It is true that he is not sanguine as to the speedy triumph of the cause, and sees and faces the difficulties which its ordinary advocates for the most part overlook. Thankful as I am for all that I have learned from his article *On Spelling* in *The Fortnightly Review*, April, 1876, I still remain unconvinced that this spelling reform is desirable, or that it would be possible, if desirable.

There are alterations in spelling which are for the worse. Thus an altered spelling will sometimes obscure the origin of a word, concealing this from those who would else at once have known whence and what it was, and would have found both pleasure and profit in this knowledge. In all those cases where the earlier spelling revealed the secret of the word, told its history, which the latter defaces or obscures, the change has been injurious, and is to be regretted; while yet, where this is thoroughly established, any attempt to undo it would be absurd. Thus, when 'gro*c*er' was spelt 'gro*ss*er,' it was comparatively easy to see that he first had his name, because he sold his wares not by retail, but in the *gross*. 'Co*x*comb' tells us nothing now; but it did when spelt 'co*cks*comb,' the *comb* of a *cock* being an ensign or token which the fool was accustomed to wear. In 'grogra*m*' we are entirely to seek for the derivation; but in 'grogra*n*' or 'grogra*in*,' as earlier it was spelt, one could scarcely miss 'grosgrain,' the stuff of a *coarse grain* or woof. What a mischievous alteration in spelling is 'd*i*vest' instead of 'd*e*vest.' The change here is so recent that surely it would not be impossible to return to the only intelligible spelling. 'Mosaic' work was once, at least on the part of some, spelt 'musaic,' and better so. The word as we now spell it might easily lead astray, while 'musaic' does something to set the inquirer on the track of the Muses.

'P*i*gmy' used once to be spelt 'p*y*gmy,' and no Greek scholar could then fail to perceive that by 'pygmies' were indicated manikins of no greater height than that of a man's arm from the elbow to the

closed fist.[1] Now he may know this in other ways; but the word itself tells him nothing. Or again, the old spelling, 'diam*ant*,' was preferable to the modern 'diam*ond*.' It was so, because it told more of the past history of the word. 'Diamant' and 'adamant' are in fact no more than different adoptions by the English tongue of one and the same Greek, which afterwards became a Latin, word. The primary meaning of 'adamant' is, as you know, the indomitable; it was a name given at first to steel as the hardest of metals; but afterwards transferred[2] to the most precious among all the precious stones, as that which in power of resistance surpassed everything besides.

Neither are new spellings to be commended, which obliterate or obscure the relationship of a word with others to which it is really allied; separating from one another for those not thoroughly acquainted with the subject, words of the same family. Thus, when '*j*aw' was spelt '*ch*aw,' no one could miss its connection with the verb 'to chew.' Now probably ninety-nine out of a hundred are unaware of any

[1] Pygmæi, quasi *cubitales* (Augustine).

[2] First so used by Theophrastus in Greek, and by Pliny in Latin. The real identity of the two words explains Milton's use of 'diamond' in *Paradise Lost*, b. vi.; and also in that sublime passage in his *Apology for Smectymnuus*: 'Then Zeal, whose substance is ethereal, arming in complete *diamond*, ascends his fiery chariot.'—Diez (*Wörterbuch d. Roman. Sprachen*, p. 123) supposes, not very probably, that it was under a certain influence of '*dia*fano,' the translucent, that 'adamante' was in the Italian, from whence we have derived the word, changed into '*dia*mante.'

relationship between them. It is the same with 'cousin' (consanguineus), and 'to cozen.' I do not say which of these should conform to the spelling of the other. The spelling of both was irregular from the first; while yet it was then better than now, when a permanent distinction has established itself between them, keeping out of sight that 'to cozen' is in all likelihood to deceive under show of affinity; if which be so, Shakespeare s words,

> '*Cousins* indeed, and by their uncle *cozened*
> Of comfort,'[1]

will contain not a pun, but an etymology. The real relation between 'bliss' and 'to bless' is in like manner at present obscured.

The omission of a letter, or the addition of a letter, may work, one as effectually as the other, to keep out of sight the true character and origin of a word. Thus the omission of a letter. When for 'bran-new,' it was 'bran*d*-new' with a final 'd,' how vigorous was the image here. The 'brand' is the fire, and 'brand-new,' equivalent to 'fire-new' (Shakespeare), is that which is fresh and bright, as being newly come from the forge and fire. As now spelt, it conveys to us no image at all. Again, you have the word 'scrip'—as a 'scrip' of paper, railway 'scrip.' Is this the Saxon 'scrip,' a wallet, which has in some strange manner obtained these meanings so different and so remote? Have we here only two different applications of one and the same word, or two homonyms, wholly different words, though spelt alike? It is sufficient to note how the first of these 'scrips' used to be written,

[1] *Richard III.*, act iv. sc. 4.

namely with a final 't,' not 'scrip' but 'scrip*t*,' and the question is answered. This 'scrip' is a Latin, as the other is a Saxon, word, and meant at first simply a *written* (scripta) piece of paper—a circumstance which since the omission of the final 't' may easily escape our knowledge.

In these cases it has been the omission of a letter which has clouded and concealed the etymology. The intrusion of a letter sometimes does the same. Thus in the early editions of *Paradise Lost*, and in the writings of that age, you will find 'scent,' an odour, spelt 'sent.' It was better so; there is no other noun substantive 'sent,' with which it is in danger of being confounded; while its relation with 'sentio,' with 're*sent*,'[1] 'dis*sent*,' 'con*sent*,' and the like, is put out of sight by its novel spelling; the intrusive 'c' serving only to mislead. The same thing was attempted with 'site,' 'situate,' 'situation,' spelt for a time by many, 'sc*i*te,' 'sc*i*tuate,' 'sc*i*tuation;' but it did not continue with these. Again, 'whole,' in Wiclif's Bible, and indeed much later, sometimes as far down as Spenser, is spelt 'hole,' without the 'w' at the beginning. The present orthography may have the advantage of at once distinguishing the word to the eye from any other; but at the same time the initial 'w' hides its relation to the verb 'to heal.' The 'whole' man is

[1] How close this relationship was once, not merely in respect of etymology, but also of significance, a passage like this will prove: 'Perchance, as vultures are said to smell the earthiness of a dying corpse; so this bird of prey [the evil spirit which, according to Fuller, personated Samuel, 1 Sam. xxviii. 14] *resented* a worse than earthly savor in the soul of Saul, as evidence of his death at hand' (Fuller, *The Profane State*, b. v. c. 4).

he whose hurt is 'healed' or covered, 'whole' being closely allied to 'hale' (integer), from which also by its modern spelling it is divided. I am afraid that we owe to Tyndale the 'hideous interloping letter that begins the word.'[1] 'Wholesome' has naturally followed the fortunes of 'whole;' it was spelt 'holsome' once.

Of 'island' too our present spelling is inferior to the old, inasmuch as it suggests a hybrid formation, as though the word were made up of the Latin 'insula,' and the Saxon 'land.' It is quite true that 'isle' *is* in relation with, and descent from, 'insula,' 'isola,' 'île;' and hence probably the misspelling of 'island.' This last however has nothing to do with 'insula,' being identical with the German 'eiland,' the Anglo-Saxon 'ealand,' and signifying either the land apart,[2] or land girt round with the sea. And it is worthy of note that this 's' is quite of modern introduction. In the earlier Versions of the Scriptures, and in the Authorized Version as first set forth, it is 'iland;' which is not accidental, seeing that 'isle' has the 's,' which 'iland' has not (see Rev. i. 9); and the correct spelling obtained far down into the seventeenth century.

One of the most frequent causes of alteration in the spelling of a word is a wrongly assumed derivation; as has been the case with the word which we dealt with. It is then sought to bring the word into harmony with, and to make it by its spelling suggest,

[1] Oliphant, *Standard English*, p. 291; compare Earle, *Philology of the English Tongue*, p. 142.

[2] 'Eiland' for 'einlant,' see Grimm, *Wörterbuch*, s. v.

this derivation, which has been erroneously thrust upon it. Here is a subject which, followed out as it deserves, would form an interesting and instructive chapter in the history of language. Very remarkable is the evidence which we have here to the way in which learned and unlearned alike crave to have a meaning in the words which they employ, to have these not body only, but body and soul. Where for the popular sense the life has died out from a word, men will put into it a life of their own devising, rather than that it should henceforth be for them a mere dead and inert sign. Much more will they be tempted to this in the case of foreign words, which have been adopted into the language, but which have not brought with them, at least for the popular mind, the secret of their origin. These shall tell something about themselves; and when they cannot tell what is true, or when that true is not intelligible any more, then, rather than that they should suggest nothing, men compel them to suggest what is false, moulding and shaping them into some new form, until at least they shall appear to have something to report about themselves.[1]

There is probably no language in which such a process has not been going forward; in which it is not the explanation, in a vast number of instances, of changes in spelling and even in form, which words have undergone. I will offer a few examples of it

[1] Diez looks with much favour on this process, and calls it ein sinnreiches Mittel Fremdlinge ganz heimisch zu machen. Compare Schleicher, *Die Deutsche Sprache*, pp. 114–117; Mätzner, *Engl. Grammatik*, vol. i. p. 483; and an article *Die Umdeutschung fremder Wörter* in Wackernagel's *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. iii.: see back, p. 111.

from foreign tongues, before adducing any from our own. 'Pyramid' is a word whose spelling was affected for the Greeks by an erroneous assumption of its derivation; the consequences of this error surviving to the present day. It is spelt by us with a 'y' in the first syllable, as it was spelt with the corresponding letter in the Greek. But why was this? It was because the Greeks assumed that the pyramids were so named from their having the appearance of *flame* going up into a point,[1] and so they spelt 'pyramid,' that they might find πῦρ or 'pyre' in it; while in fact 'pyramid' has nothing to do with flame or fire at all; being, as those best qualified to speak on the matter declare to us, an Egyptian word of quite a different signification, and the Coptic letters being much better represented by the diphthong 'ei' than by the letter 'y,' as no doubt, but for this mistaken notion of what the word was intended to mean, they would have been.

Once more—the form 'Hierosolyma,' the Greek reproduction of the Hebrew 'Jerusalem,' was intended in all probability to express that the city so called was the *sacred* city of the *Solymi*.[2] At all events the intention not merely of reproducing the Hebrew word, but also of making it significant in Greek, of finding ἱερόν in it, is plainly discernible. For indeed the Greeks were exceedingly intolerant of foreign words, till these had laid aside their foreign appearance,—intolerant of all words which they could not quicken with a Greek soul; and, with a very characteristic

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 15, 28.

[2] Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 2.

vanity and an ignoring of all other tongues but their own, assumed with no apparent misgivings that all words, from whatever quarter derived, were to be explained by Greek etymologies.[1]

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[1] Let me illustrate this by further instances in a note. Thus *βούτυρον*, from which, through the Latin, our 'butter' has reached us, is borrowed (Pliny, *H. N.* xxviii. 9) from a Scythian word, now to us unknown: yet it is sufficiently plain that the Greeks so shaped and spelt it as to contain apparent allusion to *cow* and *cheese*; there is in *βούτυρον* an evident feeling after *βοῦς* and *τυρόν*. Bozra, meaning citadel in Hebrew and Phœnician, and the name, no doubt, which the citadel of Carthage bore, becomes Βύρσα on Greek lips; and then the well-known legend of the ox-hide was invented; not having suggested the name, but being itself suggested by it. Herodian (v. 6) reproduces the name of the Syrian goddess Astarte in a shape significant for Greek ears—'Αστροάρχη, The Star-ruler or Star-queen. When the apostate hellenizing Jews assumed Greek names, 'Eliakim' or 'Whom God has set,' became 'Alcimus' (*ἄλκιμος*) or The Strong (1 Macc. vii. 5). Latin examples in like kind are 'com*i*ssatio,' spelt continually 'com*e*ssatio' and 'com*e*ssation' by those who sought to naturalize it in England, as though connected with 'cŏmedo,' to eat, being indeed the substantive from the verb 'cōmissari' (=*κωμάζειν*), to revel; as Plutarch, whose Latin is often weak, long ago correctly observed; and 'orichalcum,' spelt often '*au*richalcum,' as though it were a composite metal of mingled *gold* and brass; being indeed the *mountain* brass (*ὀρείχαλκος*). The miracle play, which is 'mystère' in French, whence our English 'mystery,' was originally written 'mistère,' being derived from 'ministère,' and having its name because the clergy, the *ministerium* or *ministri* Ecclesiæ, conducted it. This was forgotten, and it then became 'mystery,' as though so called because the mysteries of the faith were in it set out. The mole in German was 'moltwurf' once, our English 'moldwarp,' one, that is, that cast up the mould; but 'molte' faded out of the language, and the word became, as

'Tartar' is another word, of which it is at least possible that a wrongly assumed derivation has modified the spelling, and not the spelling only, but the very shape in which we now possess it. To many among us it may be known that the people designated by this appellation are not properly 'Tartars,' but 'Tatars;' and you may sometimes have noted the omission of the 'r' on the part of some who are curious in their spelling. How then, it may be asked, did the form 'Tartar' arise? When the terrible hordes of middle Asia burst in upon civilized Europe in the thirteenth century, many beheld in the ravages of their innumerable cavalry a fulfilment of that prophetic word in the Revelation (chap. ix.) concerning the opening of the bottomless pit; and from this belief ensued the change of their name from 'Tatars' to 'Tartars,' which was thus put into closer relation with 'Tartarus,' or hell, whence their multitudes were supposed to have proceeded.[1]

Another good example in the same kind is the German word 'sündflut,' the Deluge, which is now so spelt as to signify a 'sinflood,' the plague or *flood* of waters brought on the world by the *sins* of mankind; and some of us may before this have admired the pregnant significance of the word. Yet the old High German word had originally no such intention;

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it now is, 'maulwurf,' one that casts up with the 'maul' or mouth;—which the creature does not do.

[1] We have here, in this bringing of the words by their supposed etymology together, the explanation of the fact that Spenser (*Fairy Queen*, i. 7. 44), Middleton (*Works*, vol. v. pp. 524, 528, 538), and others employ 'Tartary' as equivalent to 'Tartarus,' or hell.

it was spelt 'sinfluot,' that is, the great flood ; and as late as Luther, indeed, in Luther's own translation of the Bible, is so spelt as to make plain that the notion of a '*sin*-flood' had not yet found its way into, as it had not affected the spelling of, the word.[1]

But to look nearer home for our examples : 'Ceiling' was originally 'sealing,' that which seals or closes the roof, in our early English ; but, as it is easy to explain, cælum (ciel) made itself unconsciously felt, intruded into the word, and changed the spelling to our present. The little raisins brought from Greece, which play so important a part in our Christmas plum-pudding, used to be called 'corinths ;' and this name they bear in mercantile lists of a hundred years ago : either that for the most part they were shipped from Corinth, the principal commercial city in Greece, or because they grew in large abundance in the immediate district round about it. Their likeness in shape and size and general appearance to our own currants, working together with the ignorance of the great majority of English people about any such place as Corinth, soon transformed 'corinths' into 'currants,' the name which now with a certain unfitness they bear ; being not currants at all, but dried grapes, though grapes of diminutive size.

'*Court*-cards,' that is, the king, queen, and knave in each suit, were once '*coat*-cards ;'[2] having their name

[1] For a full discussion of this matter and fixing of the period at which 'sinfluot' became 'sündflut,' see an article by Jacob Grimm, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, vol. ii. p. 613; reprinted in his *Klein. Schriften*, vol. iii. p. 288 ; and Delitzsch, *Genesis*, 2nd ed. vol. ii. p. 210.

[2] Ben Jonson, *The New Inn*, act i. sc. 1.

from the long splendid 'coat' with which they were arrayed. Probably 'coat' after a while did not perfectly convey its original meaning and intention; being no more in common use for the long garment (the vestis talaris) reaching down to the heels; and then 'coat' was easily exchanged for 'court,' as the word is now both spelt and pronounced, seeing that nowhere so fitly as in a Court should such splendidly arrayed personages be found. A public-house in the neighbourhood of London having a few years since for its sign 'The George *Canning*,' is already 'The George and *Cannon*,'—so rapidly do these transformations proceed, so soon is that forgotten which we suppose would never be forgotten. 'Welsh *rarebit*' becomes 'Welsh *rabbit*;' and '*farced*,' or stuffed 'meat,' becomes '*forced* meat.' 'Andirons' must have assumed its present shape from the notion that it had something to do with 'hand' or 'end,' and 'iron,' which is altogether a mistake. The mere determination to make a word *look* English, to put it into an English shape, without thereby so much as seeming to attain any result in the way of etymology, is often sufficient to modify its spelling, and even its form.[1] It is thus that 'sipahi' has become 'sepoy;' and only so could 'weissager' have taken its present form of 'wiseacre;'[2] or 'hausenblase' become 'isinglass;' or

[1] 'Leghorn' is sometimes quoted as an example of this; but erroneously; for, as Admiral Smyth has shown (*The Mediterranean*, p. 409), 'Livorno' is itself rather the modern corruption, and 'Ligorno' the name found on the earlier charts.

[2] Exactly the same happens in other languages; thus, 'armbrust,' a crossbow, *looks* German enough, and yet has nothing to do with 'arm' or 'brust,' being a contraction of 'arcubalista,'

'wermode,' as in Wiclif (compare the German 'wermuth'), become 'wormwood,' or 'Brasen-huis,' which is 'Brewing-house,' 'Brasen Nose.' Another word which in the spelling, and indeed in more than the spelling, simulates an English form, is rosemary (ros marinus). 'Gilliflower' and 'cornelian' are words which have been submitted to the same popular influences.[1]

There are words which, derived from one word, will receive a certain impulse and modification from another. This extends sometimes beyond the spelling, and where it does so, would hardly belong to our present theme. Still I may notice an instance or two. Thus our 'obsequies' is the Latin 'exequiæ,' but formed under a certain impulse of 'obsequium,' and seeking to express and include the observant honour which in 'obsequium' is implied. 'To refuse' is 'recusare,' while yet it has drawn the 'f' of its second syllable from 'refutare;' is in fact a medley of the two. The French 'rame,' an oar, is 'remus,' but that modified by an unconscious recollection of 'ramus.' The old French 'candel*arbre*' is 'candelabrum,' but with 'arbre' seeking to intrude itself into the word. So too the French has adopted the German 'sauerkraut,' but in the form of '*chou*-croute,' of which the explanation is obvious. The Italian 'convitare' is the Latin

but a contraction under the influence of these. As little has 'abenteuer' anything to do with 'abend' or 'theuer,' however it may seem to be connected with them, being indeed the Provençal 'adventura.' So too 'weissagen' in its earlier forms had nothing in common with 'sagen.' On this subject see Schleicher, *Die Deutsche Sprache*, p. 166.

[1] See Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, s. vv.

'invitare,' but with 'convivium' making itself felt in the first syllable. 'Orange' is a Persian word, which has reached us through the Arabic, and which the Spanish 'naranja' more nearly represents than the form existing in other languages of Europe. But what so natural as to contemplate this as the *golden* fruit, especially when the '*aurea* mala' of the Hesperides were familiar to all antiquity? In this way 'aurum,' 'oro,' 'or,' made itself felt in the various shapes which the word assumed in languages of the West, and we have here the explanation of the change in the first syllable, as in the Low Latin 'aurantium,' in 'orangia,' in the French 'orange,' and in our own.[1] A 'belfry' is now only used of a tower for bells; while the word has indeed nothing to do with bells, and the first syllable only through a corruption could so much as seem to have this.

It is foreign words, or words adopted from foreign languages, as already has been said, which are especially subjected to such transformations as these. The soul which they once had in their own language, having, for as many as are not familiar with that language, departed from them, men will not rest till they have put another soul into them again. Thus—to take first one or two popular and familiar instances, than which none serve better to illustrate the laws which preside over human speech,—the Bellerophon becomes for our sailors the 'Billy Ruffian,' for what do they know of the Greek mythology or of the slayer of Chimæra? An iron steamer, the Hirondelle, which plied on the Tyne for a while, was the 'Iron Devil.'

[1] See Mahn, *Etym. Untersuch.* p. 157.

A well-known rose, the rose of the four seasons, or 'rose des quatre saisons,' becomes on the lips of our gardeners, the 'rose of the *quarter sessions*,' though here the eye must have misled rather than the ear. The cherry of Médoc becomes presently a 'mayduke.' 'Dent de lion' (it is spelt 'dentdelyon' in our early writers) becomes 'dandelion,' '*chaude* mêlée,' or an affray in *hot* blood, '*chance*medley,' 'causey' (chaussée, or via calceata) becomes 'causeway,' 'rachitis' 'rickets;' 'mandragora' reappears in French as 'main de gloire,' and 'hammock' (a native Indian word) for the Dutch in 'hangmat.' [1]

'Necromancy' for a long time was erroneously spelt, under the influence of a faulty derivation; which, perhaps even now, has left traces behind it in our popular phrase, 'the *Black* Art.' Prophecy by aid of the dead, as I need not tell you, is the proper meaning of the word; assuming as it does that these may be raised by potent spells, and compelled to give answers about things to come. Of such 'necromancy' we have a very awful example in the story of the

[1] On such words De Quincey (*Life and Manners*, p. 70, American ed.) says well: 'It is in fact by such corruptions, by off-sets upon an old stock, arising through ignorance or mispronunciation originally, that every language is frequently enriched; and new modifications of thought, unfolding themselves in the progress of society, generate for themselves concurrently appropriate expressions. . . . It must not be allowed to weigh against a word once fairly naturalized by all, that originally it crept in upon an abuse or a corruption. Prescription is as strong a ground of legitimation in a case of this nature, as it is in law; and the old axiom is applicable—Fieri non debuit, factum valet. Were it otherwise, languages would be robbed of much of their wealth.'

witch of Endor (1 Sam. xxviii. 11–20), and a very horrid one in Lucan.[1] But the Latin medieval writers, whose Greek was either little or none, spelt the word '*nigro*mantia,' while at the same time getting round to the original meaning, though by a wrong process, they understood the dead by these 'nigri,' or blacks, whom they had brought into the word.[2] Down to a late day we find '*negro*mancer,' and '*negro*mancy' frequent in English.

'Pleurisy' used often to be spelt (it is hardly so now) without an 'e' in the first syllable, evidently on the tacit assumption that it was from *plus pluris*. When Shakespeare falls into an error, he 'makes the offence gracious;' yet, I think, he would scarcely have written,

> 'For goodness growing to a *plurisy*
> Dies of his own *too much*,'

but that *he* too derived 'plurisy' from *pluris*. This, even with the 'small Latin and less Greek,' which Ben Jonson allows him, he scarcely would have done, had the word presented itself in that form, which by right of its descent from πλευρά (being a pain, stitch, or sickness *in the side*) it ought to have possessed. Those who for 'crucible' wrote 'chrysoble' (Jeremy Taylor does so) must evidently have assumed that the Greek for *gold* lay at the foundation of the word. It may be well worth the while to consider whether the finding here of the Latin for cross, as by our present spelling we do, is not equally in error.[3] 'Anthymn'

[1] *Phars.* vi. 720–830.

[2] Thus in a *Vocabulary*, 1475 : Nigromansia dicitur divinatio facta *per nigros*.

[3] See Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, s. v.

instead of 'anthem' (Barrow so spells it) rests plainly on a wrong etymology, even as this spelling clearly betrays what that wrong etymology is. 'Antiphona' is its proper ancestor, or more properly is itself in an earlier stage of existence. 'Windore' for 'window,' not unfrequent in manuscripts, rests on the assumption that the word was originally 'wind-door,' and not as it is indeed 'wind-eye,' 'vindauga' in the Icelandic. In like manner 'lant-horn' (Fuller) for 'lantern' sufficiently explains itself. 'Rhyme' with a 'y' is a modern misspelling; and would never have been but for the undue influence which the Greek 'rhythm' has exercised upon it. Spenser and his contemporaries spelt it 'rime.' 'Abominable' was not unfrequently in the seventeenth century spelt 'ab*h*ominable, as though it were that which departed from the human (*ab homine*) into the bestial or devilish. 'Posthumous' owes the 'h' which has found its way into it to the notion that, instead of being a superlative of 'posterus,' it has something to do with 'post humum,' or after death and burial. Other foreign words which have in whole or in part simulated an English form, and have endeavoured to look like English, though without having always made up their mind what English they should suggest, are the following, 'arblast,' 'furbelow,' 'somerset.'

In all the instances just cited with one exception the correct spelling has in the end resumed its sway. Not so however 'frontisp*ie*ce,' which ought to be spelt 'frontisp*i*ce,' (it was so by Milton and others,) being the Low Latin 'frontispicium,' from 'frons' and 'aspicio,' the forefront of the building, that side which presents itself to the view. The entirely ungrounded

notion that 'piece' constitutes the last syllable, has given rise to our present orthography.[1]

[1] As 'orthography' itself means '*right* spelling,' it might be a curious question whether it is permissible to speak of an *incorrect ortho*graphy, that is, of a *wrong right*-spelling. The question thus started is one of frequent recurrence, and it is worthy of note how often this *contradictio in adjecto* is found to occur. Thus the Greeks, having no convenient word for rider, apart from rider *on a horse*, did not scruple to speak of the *horse*man (ἱππεύς) upon an *elephant*. They are often as inaccurate and with no necessity; as in using ἀνδριάς of the statue of a *woman;* where εἰκών or ἄγαλμα would have served as well. So too their table (τράπεζα = τετράπεζα) involved probably the *four* feet which commonly support one; yet they did not shrink from speaking of a *three*-footed table (τρίπους τράπεζα), in other words, a '*three*-footed *four*-footed;' much as though we should speak of a '*three*-footed *quadru*ped.' Homer's 'hecatomb' (*Il.* vi. 93) is not of a *hundred*, but of twelve, oxen; and elsewhere of Hebe he says, in words not producible in English, νέκταρ ἐωνοχόει. His ἰκτιδέη κυνέη, a helmet of weasel-skin, but more strictly a weasel-skin dogskin, contains a like contradiction. Ἄκρατος, the unmingled, had so come to stand for wine, that St. John speaks of ἄκρατος κεκερασμένος (Rev. xiv. 10), or the mingled unmingled. Boxes to hold precious ointments were so commonly of alabaster, that they bore this name whether they were so or not; and Theocritus celebrates '*golden* alabasters;' as one might now speak of a 'silver pyx,' that is a silver *box*wood, or of an 'iron box.' Cicero has no choice but to call a water-clock a *water sun*dial (solarium ex aquâ); Columella speaks of a '*vintage* of honey' (vindemia mellis), and Horace invites his friend to im*pede*, not his *foot*, but his head, with myrtle (*caput* im*pedi*re myrto). A German who should desire to tell of the golden shoes with which the folly of Caligula adorned his horse, could scarcely avoid speaking of *golden* hoof-*irons*. Ink in some German dialects is 'blak,' but red ink is 'rood blak,' or red black. The same inner contradiction is involved in 'dienstfrau,' or serving mistress; and again in such phrases as these, a '*false*

You may, perhaps, wonder that I have dwelt so long on these details of spelling; but indeed of how much beyond itself is accurate or inaccurate spelling the certain indication. Thus, when we meet 'syren,' for 'siren,' as so strangely often we do, almost always in newspapers, and frequently where we should hardly have expected (I met it lately in the *Quarterly Review*, and again in Gifford's *Massinger*), how difficult it is not to be 'judges of evil thoughts,' and to take this slovenly misspelling as the specimen and evidence of an inaccuracy and ignorance which reaches very far wider than the single word which is before us. But why is it that so much significance is ascribed to a wrong spelling? Because ignorance of a word's spelling at once argues ignorance of its origin and derivation. I do not mean that one who spells rightly may not be ignorant of it too; but he who spells wrongly is certainly so. We are quite sure that he who for 'siren' writes 'syren,' knows nothing of the magic knots and entanglements (σειραί) of song, by which those enchantresses, at once so fair and so foul, were supposed to draw as many as heard them to their ruin: and from which they most probably had their name.

Correct or incorrect orthography being, then, this

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*ver*dict,' a '*steel pen*' (penna), a '*steel cuirass*' ('coriacea,' from corium, leather), '*antics new*' (Harington's *Ariosto*), '*looking-glasses* of *brass*' (Exod. xxxviii. 8), a '*sweet sauce*' (salsa), an '*erroneous etymo*logy,' 'the nominative *case*,' the very idea of 'case' being that of *falling away* from the nominative, which itself is assumed to stand erect, being thus no case at all; '*rather late*,' 'rather' being the comparative of 'rathe;' and in others. See Gerber, *Sprache als Kunst*, vol. i. p. 387–391.

note of accurate or inaccurate knowledge, we may confidently conclude where two spellings of a word exist, and are both employed by persons who generally write with precision, that there must be something to account for this. It will be worth your while to inquire into the causes which enable both spellings to hold their ground, and to have their supporters, not ascribing either one or the other to mere carelessness or error. You will commonly find that two spellings exist, because two views of the word's origin exist, which those two spellings severally express. The question therefore which way of spelling should continue, and wholly supersede the other, and which we should ourselves employ, can only be settled by determining which of these etymologies deserves the preference. It is thus with 'ch*y*mist' and 'ch*e*mist,' neither of which has obtained in our common use a complete ascendancy over the other. It is not here, that one mode is certainly right, the other as certainly wrong ; but they severally represent two different etymologies of the word, and each is correct according to its own. When we spell 'ch*y*mist' and 'ch*y*mistry,' we implicitly affirm the words to be derived from the Greek χυμός, sap ; and the chymic art will then have occupied itself first with distilling the juice and sap of plants, and will from this have drawn its name. But this is not accepted by all. Many object, that it was not the distillation of herbs, but the amalgamation of metals with which chemistry occupied itself at the first; and find in the word a reference to Egypt, the land of Ham or 'Cham,'[1] in which this art was first practised

[1] Χημία, the name of Egypt ; see Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* c. 33.

with success. If these are right, 'ch*æ*mist,' and not 'ch*y*mist,' is the only correct spelling.

Of how much confusion the spelling which used to be so common, 'satyr' for 'satire,' is at once the consequence, the expression, and the cause. Not indeed that this confusion first began with us;[1] already in the Latin 'sat*y*ricus' was continually written for 'sat*i*ricus;' and this out of an assumed identity of the Roman *satire* and the Greek *satyric* drama; while in fact satire was the only form of poetry which the Romans did *not* borrow from the Greeks. The Roman 'satira,'—I speak of things familiar to many of my hearers,—is properly a *full* dish (lanx being understood)—a dish heaped up with various kinds of food, a 'farce,' or hodge-podge; the name being transferred from this to a form of poetry which at first admitted the utmost variety in the materials of which it was composed, and the shapes into which these materials were wrought up. Wholly different from

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For reasons against this, the favourite etymology at present, see Mahn, *Etymol. Untersuch.* p. 81. There is some uncertainty about the spelling of 'hybrid;' if from ὕβρις, this would of course at once settle the question.

[1] We have a notable evidence how deeply rooted this error was, of the way in which it was shared by the learned as well as the unlearned, in Milton's *Apology for Smectymnuus*, sect. 7, which everywhere presumes the identity of the 'satyr' and the 'satirist.' It was Isaac Casaubon who first effectually dissipated it even for the learned world. The results of his investigations were made popular by Dryden, in the very instructive *Discourse on Satirical Poetry*, prefixed to his translations from Juvenal; but the confusion still survives, and 'satyrs' and 'satires,' the Greek 'satyric' drama, the Latin 'satirical' poetry, are still assumed by many to stand in some near relation to one another.

this, having no one point of contact with it in form, history, or intention, is the 'satyric' drama of Greece, so called because Silenus and the satyrs supplied the chorus ; and in their naive selfishness and mere animal instincts, held up before men a mirror of what they would be, if only the divine, which is also the truly human, element of humanity were withdrawn ; what man, all that properly constituted him such being withdrawn, would prove.

And then what light, as we have already seen, does the older spelling often cast upon a word's origin, how often compels it to give up a secret which otherwise it would have kept to the end. The importance indeed is now fully recognized of getting at the first recorded spelling of any word about whose derivation and history there may be obscurity and dispute. Even where no positive gain is made, much will be done by a clearing in this way of the ground, and a putting beyond a doubt that such or such cannot be the right explanation. None has made a more constant rule, in his philological investigations, of recurring to the earliest form in which a word may be found, or done this to more profit, than Mr. Skeat in his *Etymological Dictionary*. Thus 'dirge' is always spelt 'dirige' in early English. Now this 'dirige' *may be* the first word of Psalm lviii., much used in the office for the dead ; which has since been contracted to 'dirge.' There is a reasonable likelihood that the explanation of 'dirge' is here ; at any rate, if it is not here, it is nowhere. In cases too where there is no mystery about a word, how often does the early spelling make clear to all that which was before only known to those who had made the language their special study. Thus if an early edition of Spenser

should come into your hands, or a modern one in which the early spelling is retained, what continual lessons in English might you derive from it. 'Nostril,' for example, is always spelt by Spenser and his contemporaries 'nosethrill;' a little earlier it was 'nosethirle.' Now 'to thrill' is the same as to drill or pierce; it is plain then here at once that the word signifies the orifice or opening with which the *nose* is *thrilled*, drilled, or pierced. We might have read the word for ever in our modern spelling without being taught this. The 'Turl,' a narrow thoroughfare at Oxford, has probably the same story to tell. 'Ell' gives us no clue to its own meaning; but in 'eln,' used in Holland's translation of Camden, we recognize 'ulna' at once. Again, the 'morris' or 'morrice-dance,' of which in our early poets we hear so much, as it is now spelt tells us nothing about itself; but read '*moriske* dance,' as Holland and his contemporaries spell it, and you will scarcely fail to perceive that it was so called either because it was really, or was supposed to be, a dance in use among the *moriscoes* of Spain, and from Spain introduced into England.[1] Once more, we are told that our 'cray-fish,' or 'craw-fish,' is the French 'écrevisse.' This is quite true, but it is not self-evident. Trace it however through these successive spellings, 'krevys' (Lydgate), 'crevish' (Gascoigne), 'craifish' (Holland), and the gulf between 'cray-fish' or 'craw-fish' and 'écrevisse' is by aid of these three

[1] 'I have seen him
Caper upright, like a wild *Mórisco*
Shaking the bloody darts, as he his bells.'
Shakespeare, 2 *Henry VI.* act iii. sc. 1.

intermediate spellings completely bridged over; and in the fact of our Gothic 'fish' finding its way into this French vocable we see one example more of a law, which has been already abundantly illustrated in this lecture.[1]

[1] In the reprinting of old books it is often hard to determine how far the earlier spelling of words should be retained, how far they should be conformed to present usage. It is comparatively easy to lay down as a rule that in books intended for popular use, wherever the form of the word is not affected by the modernizing of the spelling, there this modernizing shall take place; (who, for example, would wish our Bibles to be now printed letter for letter after the edition of 1611, or Shakespeare with the orthography of the first folio?) but wherever the shape, outline, and character of the word have been affected by the changes which it has undergone, there the earlier form shall be held fast. The rule is a judicious one; but in practice it is not always easy to determine what affects the form and essence of a word, and what does not. About some words there can be no doubt; and therefore when a modern editor of Fuller's *Church History* complacently announces that he has changed 'dirige' into 'dirge,' 'barreter' into 'barrister,' 'synonymas' into 'synonymous' (!), 'extempory' into 'extemporary,' 'scited' into 'situated,' 'van-currier' into 'avant-courier,' and the like, he at the same time informs us that for all purposes of the study of English (and few writers are for this more important than Fuller), his edition is worthless. Or again, when modern editors of Shakespeare print, giving at the same time no intimation of the fact,

'Like quills upon the fretful *porcupine*,'

the word in his first folio and quarto standing,

'Like quills upon the fretful *porpentine*,'

and this being in Shakespeare's time the current form of the word, they have taken an unwarrantable liberty with his text; and no less, when they substitute 'Kenilworth' for 'Killing-

In other ways also an accurate taking note of the successive changes which words have undergone, will often throw light upon them. Thus we may know, others having assured us of the fact, that 'emmet' and 'ant' were originally only two different spellings of the same word; but we may be perplexed to understand how two forms, now so different, could ever have diverged from a single root. When however we find the different spellings, 'emmet,' 'emet,' 'amet,' 'amt,' 'ant,' the chasm which seemed to separate 'emmet' from 'ant' has disappeared, and we not merely accept on the assurance of others that these two are identical, but we perceive clearly their identity ourselves.

Apart from any close examination of the matter, it would be hard not to suspect that 'runagate' is another form of 'renegade,' having been slightly transformed, like so many other words, to put an English signification into its first syllable; and then the meaning gradually modified under the influence of the new derivation, which was assumed to be its original and true one. Our suspicion of this is strengthened (for we see how very closely the words approach one another), by the fact that 'renegade' is constantly spelt 'renegate' in our old authors, while at the same time the denial of *faith*, which is now a necessary element in 'renegade,' and one differencing it inwardly from 'runagate,' is altogether wanting in early use—the denial of *country* and of the duties thereto owing being all that is implied in it. Thus it is

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worth,' which was for him, for Marlowe, and generally the earlier form of the name.

constantly employed in Holland's *Livy* as a rendering of 'perfuga;'[1] while in the one passage where 'runagate' occurs in the Prayer Book Version of the Psalms (Ps. lxviii. 6), a reference to the original will show that the Translators could only have employed it there on the ground that it also expressed rebel, revolter, and not runaway merely.

I might easily occupy your attention much longer, so little barren or unfruitful does this subject of spelling appear likely to prove; but all things must have an end; and as I concluded my first lecture with a remarkable testimony borne by an illustrious German scholar to the merits of our English tongue, I will conclude my last with the words of another, not indeed a German, but still of the great Germanic stock; words resuming in themselves much of which we have been speaking upon this and upon former occasions. 'As our bodies,' he says, 'have hidden resources and expedients, to remove the obstacles which the very art of the physician puts in its way, so language, ruled by an indomitable inward principle, triumphs in some degree over the folly of grammarians. Look at the English, polluted by Danish and Norman conquests, distorted in its genuine and noble features by old and recent endeavours to mould it after the French fashion, invaded by a hostile entrance of Greek and Latin words, threatening by increasing hosts to overwhelm the indigenous terms. In these long contests against the combined power

[1] 'The Carthaginians shall restore and deliver back all the *renegates* [perfugas] and fugitives that have fled to their side from us.'—p. 751.

of so many forcible enemies, the language, it is true, has lost some of its power of inversion in the structure of sentences, the means of denoting the difference of gender, and the nice distinctions by inflection and termination—almost every word is attacked by the spasm of the accent and the drawing of consonants to wrong positions; yet the old English principle is not overpowered. Trampled down by the ignoble feet of strangers, its springs still retain force enough to restore itself. It lives and plays through all the veins of the language; it impregnates the innumerable strangers entering its dominions with its temper, and stains them with its colour, not unlike the Greek, which in taking up Oriental words, stripped them of their foreign costume, and bid them to appear as native Greeks.'[1]

[1] Halbertsma, quoted by Bosworth, *Origin of the English and Germanic Languages*, p. 39.

I.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

ACCENT, shifting of, 132, 235
Addison, on Chaucer, 157
  on Spenser, 158
Adoption, double, of words, 23
African words in English, 21
Alphabet, faults of the English, 332
American-English, 65, 228
Ampère, on the French language, 34
  on the decay of languages, 329
  on phonetic spelling, 342
Arabic words in English, 14
'Ard,' words ending in, 213
Authorized Version of Scripture, its merits, 38
'Ayenbite of Inwyt,' 79

BACON, Lord, familiar with Spanish, 126

CAMPBELL, Thomas, quoted, 104
Celtic words in English, 20
Chaucer, his diction, 95
Chinese words in English, 17
Clarendon's History, the text corrected, 15
Comparatives, two ways of forming, in English, 274
Compound epithets in English, 141

DANIEL, on the future of English, 44
  on Spenser, 233
Depreciatives, 277
De Quincey quoted, 36, 360
Derivation, assumed, affects spelling, 351

Dialects, their wealth, 343
Diminutives, disappearance of, 276
Double adoption of Greek words, 25
Dryden, on new words in English, 110
on the diction of Shakespeare, 158
Dual, disappearance of, 249
Dutch words in English, 13

EARLE, on some results of the Norman Conquest, 68
on forbidden words, 222
English language, number of words in, 29
'Er,' substantives terminating in, 280
'Ess,' a feminine suffix, 253
Ewald quoted, 225

FABER, on the Authorized Version of Scripture, 39
Fairfax, his 'Bulk and Selvedge of the World,' 83
Fowler, on the English language, 43
Freeman, on English dialects, 245
French words in 'Piers Plowman,' 95
in Chaucer, 99
process of their adoption, 131
'Ful,' adjectives with this suffix now obsolete, 193
Fuller, on compounded words, 142
on Chaucer's English, 157

GARNETT, our debt to him, 244
Gender, in great part lost in English, 288
Génin, on supposed faults in language, 234
Germans rid their language of French words, 185
German words recently adopted into English, 136
Géruzez, on dialectic regeneration, 240
Gil, on Chaucer, 95
Greek words adopted into English, 128
Grimm, on the merits of English, 43
Guest, on French and Latin words in English, 87

HALBERTSMA, on the merits of English, 371
Hare, Archdeacon, on the study of English, 1

Hebrew words in English, 14
Hindostanee words in English, 16
Holland, Philemon, his translations, 108.

INDIAN words in English, 20
'It,' singular use of, 147
Italian words in English, 17
well known in England, 122
'Its,' history of the rise of, 145–151

JEAN PAUL quoted, 224
Jonson, Ben, on Spenser's English, 232
on some points of grammar, 233

KOCH, on the sources of our vocabulary, 35

LANGUAGES, dead and living, 91
should be studied historically, 6
changes in, unnoticed by us, 8
how they separate, 50
Latin words, their double adoption into English, 22
their double admission into French, 26
proportion of, in English, 28
time of their incoming, 101
rejected by English, 112
Leibnitz, on improvement of German, 185
Lepsius, his 'Standard Alphabet,' 333
'Less,' adjectives with this suffix now obsolete, 196
Lessing, what German owes him, 186
Littré, on the historic study of languages, 7
on dialects and their value, 231
Luther, his use of the popular language, 242
Lyell, on changes which languages are undergoing, 62

MALAY words in English, 16
Max Müller, on dialectic regeneration, 240
on grammar of languages unmixed, 32
on names and naming, 55

Milton, his affection for Italian, 124
his compound epithets, 143
Montaigne, his use of provincial words, 242
Müller, Otfried, quoted, 251
Murray, on standard English, 245

NATURALIZATION of foreign words, 113–120, 128–132
Nisard, on dialects and their value, 240
Norman Conquest, its influence on English, 67–70

ORTHOGRAPHY, 363

PALGRAVE, on Teutonic and Latin elements in English, 37
Persian words in English, 16
Phonetic decay, 63
Phonetic spelling, why attempted, 330
reasons against, 331
'Piers Plowman,' character of its diction, 96
Plurals in 'n' or 'en,' 285
Plurals reveal imperfect naturalization, 118
Poets recall words, 224
Polish words in English, 21
Portuguese words in English, 20
Pott quoted, 58
Prefixes, 80, 168
Preterites, strong and weak, 266–272
Purver, on the diction of the Bible, 154
Puttenham, on words in his time novel, 107
on standard English, 244

QUINTILIAN quoted, 142, 342

REFORMATION, its influence on the English language, 105
Refugee French, 62
Renan, on languages simplifying themselves, 252
Revival of Learning, 105
Rhemish Bible, its Latin character, 39

Rhyme detects changes in pronunciation, 343
Russian words in English, 21

SAINTE-BEUVE, on dialects, 230
'Satire' and 'Satyr' long confounded, 366
Scandinavian words in English, 13
Schlegel, Frederiç, quoted, 4
Schlegel, William, quoted, 32
Schleicher quoted, 277
  on phonetic decay, 329
Schneider, his absurd mistake, 218
Selden on English, 31
'Some,' adjectives with this suffix now obsolete, 211
Spanish words in English, 18
  well known in England once, 126
Spelling, changes in, for the worse, 347
  a test of accuracy of knowledge, 364
Spenser, his knowledge of Italian, 123
  his archaisms, 232
'Ster,' a feminine suffix, 255
Strong preterites, 267
Superlatives, two ways of forming in English, 274
Swift, on phonetic spelling, 345

TAYLOR, Jeremy, his knowledge of Italian, 125
Thomson, his archaisms, 154
'Thou' as a form of address, 282
Turkish words in English, 16

WALLER, on the future of English, 106
Wallis, on the genitive in 's,' 261
  on 'thou' and 'you,' 282
Weak preterites, 267
Wemyss, on the Authorized Version of Scripture, 154
West, his archaisms, 154
Wheatley, his list of reduplicated words, 215
Whewell, on English, 31
Wiclif, character of his diction, 99

Wieland, what German owes him, 186
Woodpecker, its various names, 201
Words, Scandinavian in English, 13
Dutch in English, 13
Hebrew in English, 14
Arabic in English, 14
Persian in English, 16
Turkish in English, 16
Malay in English, 16
Hindostanee in English, 16
Polish in English, 21
Chinese in English, 17
Italian in English, 17
Spanish in English, 18
Portuguese in English, 20
Russian in English, 21
Celtic in English, 20
Indian in English, 20
African in English, 21
Greek in English, 128
Danish in English, 247
naturalization of foreign, 113–120
resume their classical shapes, 118
born in this century, 138
obsolete, may be recovered, 152
of one, become two, 160–167
strive to become homogeneous, 168
first appearance of, should be noted, 176
become ignoble, 220
come under ban, 222
gradual changes in their meaning, 292

II.

INDEX OF WORDS AND PHRASES.

	PAGE
Abenteuer	358
Abnormal	139
Abominable	362
Accaparer	109
Accommodate	177
Accredit	182
Acre	308
Adamant	348
Admiral	125
Admiralty	177
Adorn	124
Advocate	156
Adyta	131
Æon	139
Æsthetics	139
Affrap	124
Affret	124
Afterthink	78
Afterwitted	227
Alcimus	354
Alcove	15
Aleknight	205
Along	235
Aloofness	226
Amoret	123
Amphibious	181
Analogie	109
Andirons	357
Ant	370
Antecedents	324
Anthem	362
Antipodes	131
Apotheosis	129
Apricot	14
Archon	118
ἀργυρόπεζα	296
Armbrust	357
Army	56
Arride	113
Ascertain	302
Ask	234
Assassinate	124
Astarte	354
Atheist	181
Attemptive	227
Attercop	61
Aurantium	359
Aurichalcum	354
Axe	234
Backjaw	83
Backsunned	239
Baffle	239, 297

	PAGE
Bairn	52
Baize	261
Baker, bakester	256
Balcony	133
Banality	134
Banter	177
Barrier	133
Bawn	62
Beauchamp	330
Beck	241
Belfry	359
Belvoir	330
Benefice, benefit	165
Betterment	228
Bieder	186
Birdwitted	227
Bison	118
Black Art	360
Blackberry	55
Blackguard	305
Black-sanctus	205
Blasphemous	235
Blubbered	220
Boil	237
Bombast	304
Booby	54
Book	25
Boor	317
Boston	330
Βούτυρον	354
Bozra	354
Brainsick	181
Brandshat	137
Bran-new	349
Brazen	266
Brazen Nose	358
Breaden	265
Brigandine	202
Brim	225
Brixton	330
Bruit	100
Bruma	56
Buffalo	18
Burgeon	225
Burn	241
Bust	17
Butter	354
Buxom	211
Cabriolet	178
Candelarbre	358
Cankerfret	227
Caprice	19
Carat	15
Caricature	177
Casuistry	325
Causey	360
Ceiling	356
Chagrin	160
Chair-days	239
Chaise	163
Chance-medley	360
Character	182
Cheek by jowl	221
Chemist	365
Chieftainess	255
Chinese	261
Chorus	118
Chou-croute	358
Chymist, chymistry	365
Cimici	180
Circle-learning	129
Clawback	217
Clever	242
Clinquant	101

	PAGE
Coal-carrier	205
Cocodrill	341
Coda-tremola	57
Comissatio	354
Commérage	319
Congregational	144
Contrary	235
Corn	55
Cornelian	358
Corpse	307
Court-card	356
Coxcomb	347
Cozen	349
Crants	137
Crass	179
Crawfish	368
Creansur	99
Creephole	205
Crikesman	137
Criterion	129
Crone, crony	162
Cross	247
Crucible	361
Crusade	120
Cuirass	364
Currant	356
Cusp	116
Cyclops	261
Cypher	14, 25
Daffodil	25
Dame	308
Damish	227
Dandelion	360
Dearworth	78
Dehort	209
Delectable	121
Deliver	243
Demagogue	109
Demy-isle	180
Denominationalism	145
Depot	132
Desenvoltura	127
Dewbit	239
Diamond	348
Dinar	15
Dirge	367
Dive, dove	238
Divest	348
Dogma	118
Donkey	241
Dorter	24
Dosis	114
Double-diligent	205
Doughty	219
Drachm	309
Dragoman	15
Draught	344
Drücker	137
Druggerman	15
Dub	219
Duke	307
Dumps	221
Dutch	294
Eame	201
Ear	247
Earshrift	79
Earsport	205
Easel	137
Eaves	261
Eclectics	181

	PAGE
Edify, edification	183
Educational	144
Effervescence	109
Einseitig	138
Elders	54
Elfish, elfishness	226
Eliakim	354
Ell	368
Eltern	54
'Em	236
Emmet	370
Emotional	145
Empfindsam	186
Encyclopædia	129
Enfantillage	109
Engastrimyth	180
Enigma	118
Equivocation	312
Erutar	222
Ethics	181
ἠθική	181
Europe	342
Eyebite	79
Eyeproof	79
Fads	241
Fairy	307
Fall	228
Fallaciloquentia	142
Falsify	182
Fanatic	177
Farfalla	18, 125
Faro	165
Fascine	178
Fatherland	138
Feint pleader	311
Fellow-feel	88
Fen-nightingale	239
Fetisch	20
Fire-spaniel	227
Flam	220
Flayte	226
Fleck	226
Fletcher	202
Flota	19
Folklore	139
Foolbold	210
Foolhappy	210
Foolhardy	210
Foolhasty	210
Foollarge	210
Force	241
Forced meat	357
Foretalk	81
Fougue	128
Fraischeur	128
Frances	163
Francis	163
Freshet	228
Frimm	204
Frivolité	109
Frontispiece	362
Fun	243
Fungus	121
Furlong	309
Gainly	208
Gallon	308
Gamester	258
Gamin	242
Garble	315
Gaster	226
Gebilde	157
Gilliflower	358

	PAGE
Girl	308
Gladiator	178
Glassen	265
Goldhoard	78
Gonfalon	124
Gossip	318
Grain	55
Great	343
Grimsire	205
Grocer	347
Grogram	347
Gruesome	241
Gull	182
Habergeon	202
Halfgod	79
Hallow	156
Hammock	360
Hand over head	221
Handbook	138
Hangdog	217
Heady	181
Hearten	225
Heat, het	238
Heavy friend	205
Heft	204
Hern	235
Hero	115
Hery	204
Hierosolyma	353
Hippodame	121
His	261
Holt	225
Hooker	19
Hopelost	227
Hotspur	204
Housedove	227
Huck	259
Huckster, hucksteress	259
Hurricane	21
Iceberg	137
Ichsucht	175
Idea	118, 312
Idolum	131
Ignis fatuus	180
Imager	180
Imp	320
Imparadise	124
Incurabili	125
Industry	177
Inerrancy	171
Influence	296
Influential	179
Intermess	20
International	178
Ipswich	336
Irremeable	111
Island	351
Isle	351
Isnik	330
Isolated	180
Istamboul	330
It	147, 148
Its	145, 146, 149–151
Jaw	348
Jeopardy	156
Joint	237
Kenilworth	369
Kindly	300

	PAGE
Kittle	227
Klei	53
Klirren	242
Knave	322
Knitster	256
Lantern	362
Leech	62
Leghorn	357
Leicester	330
Liable	182
Libel	307
Lightskirts	205
Litherness	226
Little-ease	227
Loaf, loafer	137
London	345
Lunch, luncheon	236, 237
Malingerer	205
Maltster	258
Maltworm	205
Mandragora	360
Maroon	19
Matachin	19
Matamoros	216
Maulwurf	355
Mayduke	360
Meat	307
Meddle, meddlesome	321
Mel	100
Mellay	134
Merrygodown	205
Middler	86
Militate	178
Milken	265
Millennial	179
Mischievous	235
Miscreant	295
Mistery	354
Mixen	62
Moldwarp	354
Moltwurf	354
Monomania	129
Morris-dance	368
Mosaic	347
Motacilla	57
Mother-naked	205
Museum	118
Mystery, mystère	354
Myth	139
Nap	220
Naughty pack	205
Necromancy	360
Neednot	80
Nemorivagus	142
Neophyte	177
Nesh	204
Niggot	160
Nimm	204
Noctambulo	180
Noddle	220
Nookful	196
Normal	139
Nostril	368
Nugget	159
Oblige	132
Obsequies	358
Old trot	205
Omnipotent	86
Opera	177
Orange	359

	PAGE
Orichalcum	354
Originate	178
Ornamentation	139
Orthography	363
Ostleress	255
Ourn	235
Outganger	79
Outwanderer	79
Overlord	226
Pagan	317
Painful, painfulness	302
Panic	180
Panorama	177
Pate	220
Pease	260
Peck	308
Peck of troubles	221
Pester	159
Phalanx	118
Philauty	175
Photograph	140
Picqueer	125
Pigmy	347
Pigritia	183
Pinchpenny	218
Plead, pled	238
Pleurisy	361
Plunder	136, 177
Polite	315
Polytheism	181
Pontoon	178
Porcupine	369
Porpoise	120
Posthumous	362
Potecary	121
Prævaricator	311
Pragmatical	320
Préliber	109
Preposterous	311
Prestige	132
Prevaricate	311
Privado	19
Prose, proser	321
Pullback	80
Punctilio	19
Punto	19
Pyramid	353
Quellio	19
Quinsey	120
Quirpo	19
Quirry	121
Rakehell	218
Rame	358
Rathe, rathest	210
Realmrape	227
Reconnoitre	178
Refuse	358
Regoldar	222
Reise	204
Reliable	140
Religion	298
Renegade	370
Replete	182
Resent	350
Revenue	133
Revolt	124
Rhinoceros	118
Rhyme	362

	PAGE
Riches	260
Righteousness	209
Rome	345
Rood	247
Rosen	265
Roy	100
Ruly	208
Runagate	370
Sagg	226
Sash	120
Satellites	118
Satire, satirical	366
Satyr, satyric	366
Saucy-jack	205
Scent	350
Scrip	349
Scrivener	259
Sculptor	180
'Sdeign	125
Seamster, seamstress	257
Sea-shouldering	143
Selfish, selfishness	175
Sentiment	177, 181
Sepoy	357
Serene	206
Shâh	329
Show-token	78
Shrew, shrewdness	324
Shrub	177
Shunt	160
Sight	220
Silvern	265
Silvicultrix	142
Siren	364
Sistern	286
Skinker	204
Skip	220
Slick	228
Slops	220
Sloth	183
Slowback	205
Smellfeast	218
Smoulder	157
Smug	220
Snoutfair	205
Soggy	227
Soldan	125
Solidarity	134
Somnambulist	180
Songster, songstress	257
Sough	225
Specht	201
Sperr	204
Sphinx	118
Spinner, spinster	256, 258
Squint	79
Standpoint	138
Starconner	79
Starvation	178
Starve	307
Star-i-pointing	246
Stereotype	10, 140
Stingy	243
Stonen	265
Succumb	157
Suckstone	79
Sudden	336
Suicide, suicidium	176
Suicism, suist	175
Sum	64
Sündflut	356
Sunstead	78

	PAGE
Superannuation	178
Swindler	137
Sycophant	323
Syntax	341
Tapster	258
Tarre	204
Tartar	355
Tartarus	355
Tartary	355
Tea	134, 344
That	269
Theocracy	181
Theriac	304
Thou	282
Thought	300
Ticket	183
Tind	204
Tinnen	265
Tinsel	296
Tinsel-slippered	296
Tiny	243
Topsy-turvy	328
Touchy	243
Tosspot	218
Tradesman	55
Treacle	303
Trigger	136
Trounce	220
Truchman	15
Turban	16
Turl	368
Turngidy	78
Umbrella	177
Umgripe	81
Umstroke	81
Uncouth	62
Undeathshuldigness	78
Unthoroughfaresomeness	84
Utilize	178
Vamose	51
Vancurrier	121, 369
Verdant	220
Vicinage	120
Villain	317, 322
Voyage	307
Wanhope	203
Wasp	235
Waterfright	79
Watershed	140
Watersick	79
Weaponshow	79
Wearish	227
Weather-gleam	239
Weeping-ripe	205
Welk	204
Welsh rabbit	357
Which	269
Whiteboy	205
Whole	350
Wiclif	336
Wilt	239
Windflower	79
Window	362
Winter	56
Wiseacre	357
Witwanton	227
Woburn	336
Womanhood	157

	PAGE
Woodpecker	201
Word-warrior	227
Wormwood	358
Worsen	226
Worship	301
Wörterbuch	186
Yard	309
Ye	234
Yeel	237
York	330
Youngster	258
Zero	25
Zoology	181
Zoophyte	181

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